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STATE OF EUROPE.

1. *L'Europe depuis l'Avènement du Roi Louis Philippe.* Par M. CAPEFIGUE. 10 vols. Paris: 1846.
2. *Le Congrès de Vienne dans ses Rapports avec la Circonscription actuelle de l'Europe.* Par M. CAPEFIGUE. Paris: Jan. 1847.
3. *European Remodellings, a Plan with a Variation.* London: 1848
4. *Sketches of the Progress of Civilization and Public Liberty, with a View of the Political Condition of Europe and America in 1848.* By JOHN MACGREGOR, M. P. London: 1848.

WHATEVER may be the character finally communicated to the historical school of our own generation, it must surely be rescued from sinking into antiquarianism, by the influence of the events which are passing around us. It is scarcely possible that any person in these days should overlook the present to exist solely in the past. From a period of tranquillity, during which the pacific stagnation of European politics was visibly disturbed only by the squabbles of diplomacy or the mutterings of discontent, we have been suddenly precipitated into a chaos of revolutions, which have threatened to subvert the constitution and the relations of almost every state, except our own. From an age of repose we have been transferred at once to an age of living history; and indeed, in some sense, the records of the past offer no such scene for observation as that which is now being gradually unfolded before our eyes. It is at such periods, however, that history becomes susceptible of

its most comprehensive and instructive application; and the more so when, as in the present case, the progress of civilization has apparently raised its judgments above that argument which used to be the *ultima ratio* of kings. Within these last eight months history has been appealed to in sanction of the most fundamental changes over half the continent of Europe; until, indeed, it seems almost necessary to protest against an excess of scholasticism, and practical statesmen have to take heed that historical reveries do not terminate in some such extravagance as occasionally results from unqualified antiquarianism. In the spirit which is hurrying the Germans across the Eyder, might be found a strong analogy to that which has conducted certain young English priests to Rome.

In constructing for our readers a synoptical view of the present state of Europe, we have adopted the scheme which appeared to promise the most general, as well as

the most available, information. At such a crisis as this, besides the respective conditions of the several states, there is to be considered the condition of that political system which is composed by their reciprocal action; in fact it is simply impossible, as Europe is at present constituted, to look at any one of its component powers irrespectively of its relations with the others. The existing system of Europe may be termed, with almost perfect strictness, as indeed it has been termed by German publicists, a Federal system; and the fortunes of France or Prussia can be no more separated from those of the states around them, than the affairs of Unterwalden can be distinguished from the affairs of Switzerland. It happens, too, that this system itself has been brought, and that not unintentionally, into greater peril by the recent movement, than could have resulted from any shock short of a general war; and though modifications of its character are perpetually in operation, yet its entire demolition, or in other words, the subversion of all those political compacts and usages which have been received as regulating the intercourse of nations, is an event of the rarest occurrence and most momentous import,—being equivalent in its effects upon the whole European commonwealth to those revolutions which subvert the political fabric of any particular state. This, therefore, would naturally be the first point to be attended to in considering the state of Europe. Besides this, however, it will be found that by thus looking at each state as part of a whole, the several events, which are now indistinct and confused, will admit of being classified and characterized according to their real importance. Some parts of the machine may bear a good deal of rough handling without any serious consequences; in other parts a slight derangement may be fatal to the whole. In order, therefore, to convey the most intelligible and comprehensive idea of the present state of Europe, we propose briefly to review the system on which European relations were based by European consent at that last arrangement of such affairs which has been thought to regulate our national duties; to specify the modifications subsequently introduced; to ascertain the functions attributed to each particular state in the body politic; to discover the principles which determined the action of the whole; and thus, by elucidating the state of things under which we had been living, and to which we had arrived, to consider with better understanding, and

from a better point of view, not only the character and course of those events which are now so strangely affecting the condition of each particular member, but the extent to which the general system has been disturbed, and the results which any probable modifications of its form may be expected to produce. However circuitous this route may appear, the reader may be assured that more quickly and surely than any other will it lead him to the position from which the actual Europe can best be surveyed.

Up to the date of these startling events, the public law and international rights of the old world were understood to rest, as our readers know, upon the treaties of Vienna. This, at least, is the phrase conventionally used to designate the charter of the European constitution, though it may be remarked, for precision's sake, that the expression involves some confusion of dates and circumstances. The relations existing, for instance, between France and Europe, which are those to which attention has been most frequently drawn, were determined by treaties entirely distinct from the acts of the Congress at Vienna. After the Allies had first entered Paris, a treaty was concluded on the 30th of May, 1814, by which the frontiers, possessions, and position of France were so far defined, that nothing was left to be settled at Vienna upon these particular points. The final decisions of the Congress were precipitated, as will be well remembered, by the return of Bonaparte from Elba—an event which was considered by the Allies, after their renewed successes, to justify a modification of the terms granted by the treaty of the previous year. Accordingly, on the 20th of November, 1815, a new convention was signed; and this is the particular act which so rankles in the bosom of Frenchmen; and which, under the general denomination of the “Treaties of Vienna,” has been the object of incessant denunciation and attack, from that moment to the present day. As a matter of fact, the circumscription of France was not brought into discussion at Vienna; it was conceived to have been already defined at the peace of Paris; and this definition was only modified in consequence of events which subsequently occurred. In common phraseology, however, the “Treaties of Vienna,” or the “Treaties of 1815,” are usually appealed to as regulating the existing state of Europe, and fixing the unhappy destinies of France; and the inaccuracy involves no very serious evil.

In considering these famous arrangements, which have secured the general peace, with few and partial interruptions, for three-and-thirty years, and which now at length seem to be approaching their termination, it will be necessary to attend closely to the circumstances of the period at which they were determined, if we wish either to appreciate justly the spirit in which they were conceived, or to comprehend that in which they have been attacked, and in which it is now hoped to supersede them. The leading idea of the sovereigns and statesmen assembled in the Austrian capital, was the restoration of the European system, which for a quarter of a century had been utterly destroyed. They desired to recur to that ancient code of public law which had formerly regulated the intercourse of states; and they were reasonably anxious to secure it for the future against any such impetuous violations as those to which it had been recently exposed by the ambition and the conquests of France. As it happened, these objects were not found very readily reconcilable with each other, and considerable violence was offered to national rights in the effort to preclude for the future any recurrence of national wrongs. There was also the necessity of satisfying individual ambition, of indemnifying impoverished states, and of recompensing conspicuous services; nor was it to be overlooked that there were certain existing facts, to which the eyes of the Congress could not be closed. Italy, Poland, and Saxony, were in the actual possession respectively of Austria, Russia, and Prussia; and in no case did there appear any disposition to relax the grasp obtained.

Under these conditions the Congress assembled for its duties. It is to be observed, that, while the ancient code of public laws was to be restored, the principles on which the political system was to be organized were entirely new. The canons and maxims of the old traditional policy of Europe had been exploded by motives more powerful than hereditary jealousies or historical alliances. All such history, in fact, was now a *tabula rasa*. The House of Bourbon had been re-seated on its throne by the House of Hapsburg; and the descendant of Maria Theresa shared the hazards and the hopes of the descendant of Frederick the Great. There was no longer any room for the combinations of former times. The rivalry of France and Austria was as obsolete as that of Genoa and Pisa; and they were now connected by far more imperative con-

siderations than such as had suggested the strange coalition of 1756. In the presence of a more terrible power all minor differences were sunk; and for the first time in political history, the deliberations of a congress were directed less to the establishment of equilibrium between jealous states, than to the erection of a barrier against a common enemy of all.

The acts of the Congress and its supplements, may be considered from two separate points of view; either as repartitions of territory, or sanctions of principle. We will first take the former. Subject to the private expectations of the great powers most immediately interested, the consummation aimed at in the territorial arrangements, was the effectual repression of France; a result in which it was secretly thought practicable to include certain precautionary measures against what was already considered the menacing predominance of Russia. Between the Niemen and the Meuse, therefore, lay the ground to be scientifically distributed. The scheme by which Napoleon had superseded the old arrangements of Central Europe, was admirably adapted to a system based upon the supremacy of France. By the not unnatural annexation of the grand duchy of Warsaw to a kingdom so intimately connected with ancient Poland, he had created in Saxony an attached and powerful state, which, interposed between the Austrian and Russian dominions, was calculated to neutralize any combination of these two powers; at the same time that the confederation of the Rhine, as we explained in our last number, protected the whole eastern frontier of France; supplied troops and territory against the first shock of an invasion; and carried to perfection that federative system, so long the favorite of the old French cabinets, by which a league of second and third rate powers was kept constantly on foot under the protectorate and presidency of France.

The provisions of a policy exactly opposite, involved, of course, the direct reversal of these arrangements. The Saxony of Napoleon was to be destroyed; and indeed it was only owing to the zeal and adroitness with which Talleyrand exerted the revived authority of France, and enlisted on his side the jealousy of Austria and the sympathies of England, that this ancient title did not altogether disappear from the catalogue of nations. It was urged by Prussia, with the full support of the Czar, that the dominions of King Frederick Augustus had

been fairly forfeited by his treason to the Empire in the War of Liberation, and that his territories according to the Germanic law, were as justly liable to confiscation as those of Henry the Lion. The decision of the Congress stopped just short of the capital sentence; and Saxony was suffered to survive as an independent state, though sorely circumscribed in importance and power. Of its Polish provinces we shall speak presently. Its cessions in Germany served to round off and complete the irregular frontiers of Prussia, and to contribute to the augmentations of strength which were thought necessary for the future functions of that Power. In the same spirit the Confederation of the Rhine was declared to be dissolved; and the Germanic States were reorganized after a fashion, on which, after our recent notice of the subject, we need not now insist. It should be observed, however, that in addition to the other results anticipated from this measure, there was the obvious advantage of thus excluding France from any such connexion with the minor German states, as had heretofore been made so subservient to her views of political aggrandizement. As long as the great Germanic Confederation subsisted in full force, it was impossible that France should again avail herself of any alliance with the smaller powers, to the damage of Austria or Prussia.

The next measure of precaution involved a still more arbitrary distribution of territory. In pursuance of the great scheme of interposing a barrier of compact and consolidated states between the suspected powers of eastern and western Europe, the provinces of Holland and Belgium were fused into a new kingdom of the Netherlands, in favor of the House of Orange, which thus succeeded to a sovereignty of no small political importance. Commanding the mouths of the Scheldt and the Rhine, and supported by the Rhenish provinces of Prussia and the English kingdom of Hanover, it was conceived that the new state would serve as an advanced post to Europe against France, or as a reserve for Europe against Russia. The creation of this power completed the chief territorial arrangements of the Congress, by perfecting the great barrier system which had been devised. Its *fiats* on other points were dictated by the same spirit. The neutrality and independence of Switzerland were studiously recognized and established; and the indispensable kingdom of Sardinia was strengthened even

by the sacrifice of the Genoese, so discreditable after the promises of independence by which they had been deluded. The secular sovereignty of the Roman Pontiff, which has been so recently called in question, was duly confirmed, though not without some curious debate, both at Vienna and Westminster. The states of the Church were thought by Protestant Prussia to offer an eligible retreat for disinherited Saxony; and even English Whigs conceived that no better material for requisite indemnifications could be found elsewhere. The sudden defection of Murat from the cause of the Allies facilitated the general recognition of legitimacy which was thought desirable; and enabled the dispensing Powers to redistribute the Peninsula between the Houses of Lorraine and Bourbon. It is proper, also, to mention that a design was entertained of uniting these Italian states by some such federal compact as that which had been devised for Germany; though, as the notion originated with M. de Metternich, it may be easily conceived to have involved no idea of any such unity as was subsequently craved; but simply such an alliance as would have placed the resources of all the principalities more readily at the command of the Power predominating in their councils.

From this brief recapitulation of the territorial arrangements of the Congress, it will not be difficult to deduce a general idea of the functions attributed to each Power in the new political system. It was in Central Europe that the difficulties chiefly lay, and where the main strength of the machinery was required. Austria and Prussia, nearly matched in power and resources, and with their ancient feuds now healed by their experience of common peril, were supported, either in front or rear, as occasion might determine, by an array of states artistically grouped for this precise purpose. Germany, with just such a character of unity as the purpose required, was placed almost wholly at their disposal by the terms of the new confederation. To the South lay Switzerland; independent and neutral, preserved in its institutions and its integrity, less by the favor than by the jealousies of the dominant Powers; and retaining its sovereign existence on the single condition of excluding all states alike from the advantages derivable in case of war from its fastnesses and its position. To the North was the new-born kingdom of the Netherlands; which, resting on the territories of the Germanic Confederation, completed, along the

frontier of France, a *cordon* of states, which it was hoped would be proof against any new outbreaks of ambition or revolution. In this way was the entire group between the Meuse and the Niemen organized, and animated with the single object of repressing for the future any irruptions of France, or any possible encroachments of Russia. The apprehensions respecting the latter power were, however, as yet but indistinctly developed; and it may be said that Central Europe entire, flanked on one side by Italy, and on the other by England, was combined and consolidated anew, for the one sole purpose of forming a barrier against France—and effectually confining that indomitable spirit from which all war seemed to spring.

The course which European history subsequently took, and which it is taking at present, renders it now necessary to consider the proceedings of the Congress in a point of view from which transactions of this kind have seldom called for so much contemplation—in respect, that is, of the abstract political principles there solemnly sanctioned. It was, in fact, impossible, at the conclusion of what had been emphatically a war of opinions, to omit some definite understanding and decision regarding these opinions, from that compromise of interests and compact of powers which were to secure tranquillity for future generations. We are not now alluding to the moral questions which were overtly introduced into the conferences—such as the abolition of the slave trade, the suppression of piracy, &c.; but to that general determination respecting the internal politics of particular states which was taken in concert by the sovereigns assembled. This is a point of the greatest importance; for the events which are at this moment convulsing Europe are directly connected with these resolutions, and with the modifications and reversals which they subsequently underwent. However strange it may appear, it is beyond all doubt, that the spirit of the Allied Powers was at this period *sincerely liberal*. The stream of opinions had been reversed. Originally, revolutionary France had overrun absolutist Europe; but now insurgent and emancipated Europe was repulsing despotic France. The principles which had been invoked in their own favor by the Convention and the Directory, were now invoked against the oppressions of the Empire, by the sovereigns of the Continent. It was apparently not more in acknowledgment of the debt they owed to their people, than in furtherance of

their own sincere designs, that the several monarchs now stipulated for constitutional governments in their respective dominions. If any reluctance was shown in this competition for popularity, it was on the part of Austria. Prussia deliberately proposed a scheme of almost that very constitution which was at length revived *two-and-thirty years after*—by the present King. Russia was, of course, called upon for very little exertion as regarded her unawakened provinces; but her propositions on behalf of Poland, which were actually in part realized, were at this time so unboundedly liberal, as to excite serious apprehensions in her western neighbours. The states of the Germanic Confederation were to be advanced to equal and similar privileges; and a kind of model constitution, conveying all the chief rights and liberties of a representative government, was delineated for general guidance. So entirely were these arrangements considered as flowing from the conclusions, and sanctioned by the guarantee of the Congress, that on the occasion of a collision between the states of Wirtemberg and their sovereign, upon a constitutional point, the former parties actually appealed to the subscribing Powers of the Treaty of Vienna in confirmation of their rights. How completely these ideas were superseded, we shall see as we proceed.

Such was the substance and such the spirit of the acts of the Congress. Many allowances must be made for the circumstances of the time; and for the influence of opinions still obtaining, and of recollections still fresh. Europe seemed, as if by the subsidence of a deluge, to be left for a new organization; and after the violation of all natural and political rights to which the world had been habituated, such examples of precautions against violence as we have been relating, must have appeared warrantable and wise. Still it is impossible to overlook the fatal errors thus committed in a treaty which was to regulate public law, and to insure universal tranquillity and contentment for generations to come. The Congress took little heed of nationality, of race, of natural sentiments, of historical traditions, or of popular predilections. They treated states and principalities as so many unconscious and lifeless parts of a huge machine. They marshalled provinces and people like squadrons and battalions in a line of battle, calculated by the individual decisions of a commander. They did even more—they carried their distributive powers beyond any

pretended compulsion of necessity, and partitioned populations, to satisfy ministerial crotchets or royal greed. There was a formal *partage d'âmes*. Claims to so many millions of souls, founded on previous bargains, presumptions, or services, were put in and recognized, at the cost of all national feelings; and in councils over which no great geographical or historical ability is said to have presided. Nor was all this done in innocence, or ignorance, or without audible expostulation and warning. In the British senate, before yet the arrangements were finally concluded, Sir James Mackintosh denounced aloud the mistaken provisions of the treaty, and exposed the evils of such arbitrary adjudications, in the wisest spirit of political foresight. But the Congress had a giant's strength; and they used it, despotically in effect, though, for the most part, not wrongfully in intention. The results have furnished the incidents of European history during the thirty years' peace. *Naturam expulere furcâ*—and the throes and struggles of nature against the violence could never be made to cease. It was to the known spirit of reaction against this unnatural pressure, that the appeals, so familiar to modern ears, were made. It was on the spirit thus engendered, that the French Republicans relied when they proclaimed to Europe, *in terrorem*, that a word spoken in Paris was potent enough *donner secousse aux trônes*. No doubt it was. It was the fabric from the hands of the Congress which shook in 1830, and which shakes in 1848. The Allied Powers constructed an edifice which the diplomacy of Europe has ever since been engaged in transforming, to meet those precise requirements which the Congress had neglected. Unhappily, too, the mischief was aggravated by supplementary conclusions; and at Carlsbad, Laybach, and Verona, much of what was good in the provisions of Vienna was lucklessly neutralized, while all that was evil was made infinitely worse.

It does not enter into our design to adjudicate between princes and people in those political collisions which followed so closely on the great European act of settlement; our object is confined to the selection of those particular facts which became really influential upon the actual system of Europe, and which will assist us in elucidating its recent character and its present state. Let no reader imagine that we are leading him through irrelevant details, or that we are dragging him to an unconscionable height, before we present him with the promised view. With-

out such preconceptions as we are now suggesting, no adequate comprehension of the state of Europe can possibly be formed: But as soon as the reader has once realized the character of the political system, with the places and functions of its constituent members, as it was constructed at Vienna, and as it existed after its intervening modifications up to a recent day, he will find that every incident of this wonderful year drops naturally into its place in the historical panorama, and that he can run his eye from Schleswig to Sicily, and from Bucharest to Brunswick, without being deceived by any false light or diverted by any unreal phenomenon.

Twelve months had scarcely elapsed after the ratification and acceptance of this system, when perturbations began to disclose themselves, though with reference less to landmarks than principles. It was hardly to be expected but that some such offences should come. Intermingled and confused with that insurrectionary enthusiasm which had been studiously excited in the War of Liberation, there still stalked abroad the pure spirit of Jacobinism, and the military fanaticism which survived the loss of Napoleon. How far the two latter passions really modified the more legitimate yearnings of the former, and whether the alarm of governments or the suspicion of the people was the better founded sentiment, it is not our present business to decide. It is sufficient for our purpose to remark, that the resolutions professed by the allied sovereigns of conceding constitutional privileges to their subjects, were quickly cancelled; and superseded immediately by repressive measures, taken in such earnest concert and under such singular conditions, that the general system of Europe became intimately affected by the consequences of the course now entered upon. To meet this tergiversation of the Courts, all the modifications and developments of *carbonarisme* which tradition details, were now put in operation; and every state of Central Europe had its secret societies for the prosecution of its peculiar object. In Germany the leading idea appears to have involved that revival of imperial or national Unity which was so long a proscribed theory, and which has now been so unexpectedly proclaimed, though we can hardly say realized. Among the Poles there was that undying aspiration for distinct nationality, which, hopeless and even useless as it now is to themselves, seems preserved solely as a thorn in the side of their oppressors. The Italians had less definite objects of as-

sociation and agitation. There was great discontent in the unconsolidated kingdom of Sardinia; and natural disaffection in the revolutionized and ill-governed states of the Peninsula; but the desire of fusing the whole of Italy into a single monarchy under an Italian king, seems not to have been an idea either practically comprehended or generally entertained. France was of course the hot-bed of all revolutionary principles, but the army of occupation then answered for its neutrality, and its people were suspended from that initiative in all commotions which is their high prerogative, as completely as its cabinet was then politely outlawed in the re-unions of its august allies.

Upon looking at the date of the Holy Alliance, at its discoverable tenor, and at the reception which its declarations experienced, we shall perhaps be led to conclude that this famous compact was not in reality any incarnation of those notorious principles which its title usually recalls, and that it was scarcely even a prelude to the more practical conventions which followed it. It was the production of Alexander alone; and was merely a vehicle of those vague and mysterious doctrines of the religious obligations of sovereigns and states, over which the Czar delighted to ponder. Its purport was little more than an open and unwavering profession of that faith and those principles upon the ruin of which French dominion had been founded. It was an advised and formal declaration on the part of the contracting Powers, that the doctrines of Christianity should be the rule of their conduct towards others and among themselves. Austria and Prussia accepted and subscribed its conditions, with little sincere sympathy, but with great readiness to conciliate by such insignificant stipulations so important an ally. But that which recommended the alliance to these Powers disqualified it for approval in England. The British government was unwilling to commit itself to obligations which were either superfluous or indefinite. If the compact meant no more than it expressed, it was but a gratuitous exposition of the national faith; if any practical duties were concealed beneath its terms, they ought to be more intelligibly specified. It seems clear, however, that no such uneasiness had yet arisen respecting the popular feeling in the several states, as would have suggested any counter-association of governments; and in fact the more practical matters were cared for in a separate convention between Austria, Russia, and Prussia; the

stipulations of which showed that their apprehensions for the future were still confined to the frontiers of France.

But the true tendency of continental policy was not long in disclosing itself. Though at the first re-union of the Allied Powers at Aix la Chapelle in 1818, no measures were overtly concerted for suppressing the liberal movements by this time set on foot, yet the apprehensions excited, especially in Germany, by these popular manifestations, had been mainly influential in provoking the conferences; and it was speedily determined to retract or suspend those concessions of constitutional privileges which had been formerly promised. These royal re-unions and compacts were rapidly repeated. At Carlsbad, at Troppau, at Laybach, and at Verona, conclusions were announced, successively of greater and greater stringency and sweep, amidst explosions of popular discontent, which, according to the feelings or judgment of writers, are represented as either the cause or the effect of the resolutions adopted. In Germany the insurrectionary spirit took the disgraceful form of assassination; in the Italian and Spanish peninsulas, the more dangerous guise of military revolt. But the important point to be observed is, the attitude gradually assumed by the Allied Powers, and its remarkable influence upon the public policy of Europe. The contracting parties represented themselves as charged with the superintendence of general tranquillity; and characterized their combination against the "revolutionary" spirit of Europe, as the natural continuation of that alliance, which, by overwhelming the power of Napoleon, had restored the peace of the world. The result was a perpetual league of crowned heads, which, if originally directed against license, was soon made available against liberty. The principle now promulgated was this, that if any disturbance of the "tranquillity," constituted and prescribed by the dispensing Powers, should occur at any point of Europe, the entire force of the Alliance should be immediately employed to suppress it. In this way the political system, as ordinarily organized between sovereign and independent States, was to be superseded by a kind of Confederation, which would have transformed the governments of Europe into a diet, of which Austria or Russia would have seized the presidency. Forms of government were put in the same category with configurations of frontier; and the mutual guarantee was extended from integrity of territory to integrity

of absolutism. "Intervention," upon these principles, in the internal affairs of an independent state, was proclaimed a duty incumbent upon the allied governors of the world; and so strict was the union thus contracted, and so hearty the concurrence of purpose, that it was hoped wars and tumults would never again be found afflicting nations or dethroning kings.

In accordance then with these views and stipulations, as far as their acceptance could be secured, was the new system of Europe insensibly framed. France appeared in two different capacities before the eyes of the Allies. She was either the France of 1793, the scourge and outlaw of Europe, or she was the France of 1815, the grateful and obliged creation of their own hands. For three years, notwithstanding the adroit and successful assumptions of Talleyrand at Vienna, she was regarded in the former light; her provinces were occupied by foreign troops, and the work of conquest and of peace was still considered incomplete. But at Aix la Chapelle the representations of Richelieu induced the Allies to evacuate her territory; and she was at the same time formally readmitted to her diplomatic place among nations. Her accession to the terms of the Holy Alliance was the first exercise, and, as it were, the symbol of her restored rights: but she subsequently displayed some repugnance to the repressive policy of the Northern Powers, and neither at Carlsbad nor at Troppau was her co-operation cordially given. But the assassination of the Duke de Berri concurred with other events to influence the temper of her government; and eventually she lent her instrumentality to the worst and most conspicuous example of the intervention system—the invasion of Spain. The sudden change produced by the revolution of July, 1830, in what was then becoming a traditionary policy, most readers will be able to recall.

England had stood aloof from all these conventions, and not without reason. In perusing the documents connected with our notice of these transactions, the reader may think that he detects no small portion of personal pique entering into the discussion; and perhaps it may fairly be said that the stand was made rather for administrative independence, than on behalf of popular freedom. But the result was a manifesto from Lord Castlereagh's pen, conveying as round a denunciation as any liberal could desire, of the aggressive combination against the liberties of the world, which would have

transformed Europe entire into the Poland of Nicholas or the Naples of Ferdinand. The other Powers, however, persisted in their scheme. By a little manœuvring, to which M. de Metternich condescended, Spain, Portugal, and Sweden had been excluded from participation in these supplementary compacts; so that five Powers only of the eight contracting parties at Vienna, were engaged in these deliberations. Of England and France we have spoken; but Austria, Russia, and Prussia now entered into an alliance so firm, and upon principles so clearly understood, that the result lost scarcely any material portion of its significance, up to the beginning of the present year. Few results, indeed, have been more extraordinary. That political combination, which upon its first occurrence at the partition of Poland, was described by statesmen and publicists as the most monstrous and unnatural which accident or depravity could have engendered, was thus rendered a permanent and characteristic feature of the system of Europe. The misshapen and stigmatized "coalitions" of '93 became the conspicuous and enduring alliances of the thirty years' peace; since the ordinary principles of policy never recurred, but were superseded permanently by extraordinary apprehensions and extraordinary precautions. The "three Northern Powers" were now fused, as it were, into an almost inseparable whole; and it may well be questioned, at this stage of the drama, whether Germany will ever secure, for national purposes, a more efficient unity than that which community of recollections, responsibilities, and fears had established between Prussia, Austria, and Russia.*

On such considerations as these was based the system which, for three-and-thirty years

* After looking back at the politics of the last thirty years, the reader may be amused with the following opinion of one of the most sagacious, well-informed, and experienced writers of his day:—"This transient union of Austria, Prussia, and Russia (in 1772), was a singular phenomenon, produced by a conjunction of extraordinary circumstances, assisted by the genius of one of the greatest men of any age, and beyond the sphere of all the calculations of ordinary politics. Such phenomena must always defeat them; they exceed the science, and expose its insufficiency. A similar combination will, perhaps, not occur in the course of many centuries; it could never last; its permanence would be in contradiction to the nature of things, and to the necessary order of all political relations."—Gentz's Reply to Hauterive's *Etat de la France à la Fin de l'An VIII.* (written in 1801), chap. 3. Now who will be bold enough to pronounce upon the state of Europe?

of general peace, was substantially allowed to regulate the public policy of Europe. Looking at the five dispensing Powers, we may say that the elements of disturbance appeared to be confined to France and Russia. Between them lay a compact mass of strength, invested solely with the functions of conservatism. All the interests of Prussia and Austria were in the maintenance of the *status quo*. The former Power, by the events of the war, had finally secured that increase of territory demanded by the previous disproportion between her resources and her obligations; and for which, in the past century, she had so desperately struggled. The latter Power was still more deeply interested in the preservation of the existing equilibrium. Less, relatively speaking, than either of her two northern neighbors had she gained from the dividend of territorial spoils; and there were obvious reasons for apprehending that any further change would be to her prejudice, if not at her expense. Besides this, her peaceable rule in her own provinces depended in no slight degree upon the predominance of those political principles, the maintenance of which, as well as of the territorial arrangements, had now been stipulated by the system established, and which, in fact, she herself had been mainly instrumental in imposing. Italy and Germany served for little but to swell the influence of Austria and Prussia. In the position of Russia there was somewhat more ambiguity. Her enormous extent of territory, so disproportioned to that of her neighbors; her comparative immunity from the worst consequences of war; the restless character of her policy; and the notorious direction of her ambition towards ends irreconcilable with the equilibrium of Europe—concurred with the traditions of the old system, under which she had been the most wilful disturber of the public peace, to raise certain suspicions respecting her possible deportment. On the other hand, besides the essential antagonism between the political principles of St. Petersburg and Paris, she had actually suffered, no less than other nations, from French aggression; she had been one of the principal instruments in repelling and chastising it; and she was now the most hearty and cordial co-operator in the measures by which such possibilities were to be obviated for the future. There was no reason, therefore, to doubt the original sincerity of her councils. But the fact still remained that she was the only leading Power besides France who had

something definite to desire; and this presumed community of feeling between the unsatisfied and the dissatisfied, left an opening for overtures which, if they have not resulted in any important combinations, have originated schemes of policy familiar, by name at least, to most of our readers. Indeed, this brief allusion to the circumstances of the great settlement, will explain much of that foreign policy of France, projected or pursued, which is now so interesting, and which we have recently had occasion to describe.

That denunciation of "the Treaties of 1815," which was incessantly repeated by the government restored under these very compacts; which was the first cry of the victorious insurgents of July, and the first proclamation of the young republic of February last, rested entirely upon the circumstances which we have been relating. It is true that, looking strictly to the due and lawful influence of France in the European system, it could not be then argued from facts, and assuredly it cannot be now shown from experience, that she had suffered any serious penalty or deprivation. No such arbitrary interference with her territory took place as had awaited other states less actively concerned. It was only after a repetition of great provocations that the line of her frontier was subjected to the modifications which the common security was thought to demand. Comparatively speaking, little indignation was expressed against the treaty of May, 1814, by which the affairs of France had been originally arranged; and which fixed her frontiers according to the line of November, 1792. But, though the further cessions now exacted were certainly not disproportioned to the provocation given, they formed a pretext for an outcry, which has but little abated ever since. A part of the department of Ardennes was taken off; as was also the Saarbruck district, up to Landau, while Chambéry reverted again to its ancient lords; Geneva received a little enlargement, and the protectorate of the tiny principality of Monaco was transferred to Sardinia. The "line of the Rhine" was not *lost* by the Treaties of 1815: For it had never belonged to any France recognized in the history of peaceful and independent Europe; nor had it been temporarily gained but by the most violent and arbitrary invasion of ancient rights—by the annexation of Belgium, the subjugation of Holland, and the violent dispossession and ejection of some score of the princes of Germany. Yet this is the frontier termed "natural" by French

writers; for the restoration of which half the nation has been clamoring and caballing ever since 1815, and the loss of which they have never ceased to represent as an indignity and a stigma. It is certain, indeed, that all this agitation and struggle on the part of France against the settlement of 1815, has sprung exclusively from an ambitious desire to recover an influence which was not legitimate; and a frontier which, however geographically natural, was never historically rightful. It has been a mere question of territory, not of principle. As far as the other and more justly offensive ordinances of the Congress went, they have long ago been cancelled. Whatever curb may have been kept upon Italy and Germany, France has been left to modify her institutions and government as seemed best to her, in the fullest license of political freedom; and few will deny that she has availed herself largely enough of the privilege. If the necks of the French were still galled by a government or a dynasty imposed by an armed alliance, there would be more reason in these restless clamors for a new organization of the political system; but, as it is, such protests can be only regarded as the irrepressible symptoms of a feverish and dissatisfied ambition.

From what we have premised, no difficulty will be found in comprehending the various schemes of policy by which French cabinets have been, and still are tempted. The problem being to recover some of the lost influence of France, and to supersede existing arrangements on the eastern frontier by some adjudication more flattering to the nation, there appeared to be two systems of operation—that of the *Alliance Russe*, and that of the old federative policy of Richelieu and the Capets. The first system was based upon the probabilities of conciliating the Court of St. Petersburg by a community of interests created for the occasion. As France and Russia were the only two Powers who wanted anything, there appeared a natural opportunity of reciprocating good offices, and of combining their efforts for the attainment of their respective ends. Sometimes this system was developed in a deliberate scheme for an offensive alliance, such as we described the other day in the case of the French Republicans, where the partition of Turkey on one side, and the annexation of the Rhenish Provinces on the other, were to be the undissembled conditions of the projected treaty. At other times it was advocated with less de-

termined, and, perhaps, less daring purposes, assuming the form merely of a certain leaning towards the Russian connexion as a principle of policy, in preference to any approaches to other Courts of Europe. It is to be observed that this was the characteristic policy of all the governments of the Restoration. Notwithstanding the indebtedness of that dynasty to Great Britain and her other allies, the Bourbons were no sooner seated on the throne than they turned towards St. Petersburg with the views which we have been describing; and from M. de Richelieu even down to M. de Polignac—English as was that Minister in his personal inclinations—there is scarcely a statesman to be found who did not advocate the *Alliance Russe* as the true policy of France. Most emphatically is it worth remarking, that this policy, which represented nothing but the selfishness of dynastic ambition or popular interests, was the darling system of the Republicans, as well as of Legitimists; while it was reserved for a constitutional government to forego such intrigues for the nobler consideration of succoring the struggles of independence. The Legitimists, with all their confessions of obligation—the Republicans, with all their professions of generosity and liberalism—concurred in taking territorial aggrandizement as the groundwork of their policy. It was the government of Louis Philippe which exchanged such visionary conspiracies for the more disinterested objects of the *Alliance Anglaise*, and the cordial promotion of constitutional reforms. The common cry of M. de Chateaubriand and M. Louis Blanc was, “the line of the Rhine,”—at whatever expense to the nations of Europe, or whatever violence to the duties of France. That of M. Guizot and his colleagues was constitutional freedom, and the *entente cordiale* by which alone so honorable a cause was to be secured. Alas! that it should not have remained so to the end.

The old federative system of France consisted in such a concerted alliance with the several minor powers as should make them at all times available for any combination against one of the leading states; and it is surprising to what an extent this system was practically carried, considering the adroitness and versatility requisite to the successful adoption of so singular a policy. How the states of the Empire were conciliated to this scheme, and how closely they became attached to France, we explained on a very recent occasion. Spain—for after the Peace

of the Pyrenees the kingdom of Philip II. had definitely fallen to the second rank of European powers—was virtually consigned to the influence of France by the treaty of Utrecht, and was formally attached to her train by the Family Compact. Naples and Parma, through the same connexion, were united in the same interests; and the antagonism traditionally subsisting between the Emperor and the Pope, together with the natural apprehensions of the Republics of Genoa and Venice, combined to bring the whole Italian Peninsula within the sphere of attraction; and even in Malta, from the constitution and traditions of the Order, French influence was usually predominant. So intimately was Poland connected, after the same curious fashion, with France, that its dependence was recognized in the proverbs of the nation; and Turkey itself, which owed to this very policy of the Most Christian King its introduction into the European system, was attached to the same scheme so strongly, that a rupture between Louis XIV. and the Porte is recorded in history as a prodigious and unnatural occurrence; and the old traditional tie of amity was, in fact, only definitely snapped by Napoleon's invasion of Egypt. This system received its first severe blow at the partition of Poland; but it was renewed on a gigantic scale by Napoleon; its revival and adaptation to the present state of things was warmly advocated by some of the French Republicans; and only eighteen months ago, it was represented by M. Cpefigue as the policy which the state of Europe, the course of events, and the constitution of M. Guizot's cabinet, were irresistibly conspiring to restore.

The operations of the general system we have been here describing, compose the political history of Europe during the thirty years' peace; and it will only be necessary to say a few words upon the modifications of the original settlement which had been introduced in the interval, before we come to that present state of things, to the illustration of which the previous remarks have been directed. The reader, we hope, will not have come thus far, without discovering the *point de depart* to which he is approaching. A just comprehension of the State of Europe is only to be derived from a clear view of the actual system under which its family of nations have been living up to the moment of the changes now threatened, and from a due understanding of the functions discharged by each particular state in the preservation of the general equilibrium. It is only

by appreciating what existed, that we can determine what it really is, that has been, or is likely to be, destroyed. It is only by reviewing the principles which have hitherto influenced, and the compacts which have hitherto guided, the public policy of Europe, that we can properly comprehend the character and significance of those movements by which it is now hoped to supersede them.

The interval between the original pacification and the present convulsions, is divided into two equal portions by the French revolution of July, 1830; which conveniently separates one period from another, and introduces an epoch which may be regarded as a kind of transition period between that which preceded it, and that which perhaps is now to follow. Up to that year, the policy of the Allied Powers, which we have described above, had an almost undisputed sway; and the incidents of European history during the fifteen years which intervened were mainly confined to such manifestations of its force as were supplied by the successive suppression of liberal movements in Naples, Piedmont, Portugal, and Spain. But the revolution of July gave a new aspect to affairs. Not only was France—a leading Power—transformed into a real constitutional monarchy, and transferred, in the balance of political principles, from the side of the allies of Laybach, to the side of Great Britain and its reformed Parliament, but the effect of this metamorphosis was most sensibly felt in the several revolutions which followed, then, as now, in the train of Parisian catastrophes. We need not repeat the story of eighteen years ago; but the moral of the Belgian question, and the decision of Europe on its merits, is so strikingly illustrative of the change then introduced into the political system, and has so pointed a bearing upon the political relations of the present day, that it may be of some advantage to notice it.

Of all the creations of the Vienna Congress, there was none which, superficially viewed, appeared a more excellent or admirable work than the kingdom of the Netherlands. It fulfilled all the conditions required in the territorial distribution of this part of Europe; it indemnified a princely House which had deserved well of the dispensing Powers; and it seemed obviously and equally calculated for the best interest of the States which were to compose it. The Austrian provinces of the Netherlands, and the independent Republic of Holland had, before the first Revolution,

formed the rampart of Northern Europe against France, which it was now desired to reconstruct; and so naturally was the proposed scheme recommended, that even in the preceding century the union of Holland with the Austrian Netherlands under a prince of the House of Orange, was advocated as one of the best imaginable combinations for the tranquillity of Europe. For the last twenty years Austria had waived her claims over these distant and costly provinces; and there appeared no possibility of organizing them more judiciously than by uniting their interests with those of their maritime neighbors. Holland was a commercial, Belgium a manufacturing state; what one country fabricated, the other might export; and thus the capabilities of each would be combined for the advantage of both. Even as regarded historical traditions, there was something to be said for the reconstitution of the Netherlands. Nothing, at all events, could appear more reasonable or commendable than the experiment. It was in vain hinted that strong diversities of religious faith and hereditary institutions would probably conspire, with the inextinguishable instinct of nationality, to create repugnances incompatible with its success. Such objections were overruled; and the kingdom of the Netherlands took its appointed place among the powers of Europe. Every body remembers the sequel. At the very first shock the artificial edifice fell asunder; and the Belgians demanded an acknowledgment of their separate nationality. Europe had combined, by solemn stipulations, to guarantee the House of Orange in the possession of this dominion; and the House of Orange claimed the benefit of this suretyship. Yet the constructing Powers reconsidered their work by the light of experience; and owing to the new-born cordiality between England and France, liberal principles carried the day. France and England said "yes;" the three Northern Powers abstained, in the face of such a combination, from saying "no;" and Belgium became an independent State. What is now remarkable is, that this concession to the reasonable requirements of a people, has not been attended with any of the political results which might have been predicted from such a reversal of the original scheme. Independent Belgium appears just as little likely as the Southern Netherlands would have been to subserve the interests or ambition of France. Whether from the "English intrigues" at the siege

of Antwerp, as M. Louis Blanc thinks, or from the good sense of the people and the government as we should rather suggest, it is certain that Belgium has discharged her European duties, in her own way, as well as the allied sovereigns were for making her do, in theirs; the difference being this, that whereas the fire-proof fabric of the congress of Vienna was in a blaze with the first sparks of revolution, the more natural edifice substituted by the Conference of London, has remained safe and entire in the very heart of a conflagration; and may now be envied by some of those states which looked so suspiciously on its reconstruction. The subsequent events in the Spanish Peninsula illustrated still more conspicuously the influence exercised upon the destinies of Europe by the element thus powerfully introduced into the operations of the political system. In spite of the resistance, still passive, of the three Northern Powers, the triumph of constitutional principles over the doctrines of absolutism was again openly symbolized in Portugal and Spain. In fact the Quadruple Alliance was the counter-manifesto to the Holy Alliance.

We need not make any specific allusion to the events immediately preceding the revolutions of last February and March. It is worth remarking, however, how general seems to have been the persuasion, in political and diplomatic circles, even before these convulsions, that the time had come for the convocation of another Congress, not only to settle those numerous points of international differences which the mere lapse of thirty years, even under the most effective systems, would be sure to introduce, but even to undertake the remodelling of Europe upon a scheme which would supply the omissions, as well as correct the errors of the Congress of Vienna.* We may be now

* The amusing pamphlet which we have placed at the head of the present paper is an illustration of the spirit here spoken of. "European Remodellings" was written before the events of February; and yet proposes, in order to avoid the definite tendencies of national ambition, and remedy certain anomalies, a reconstruction of the Continent little less thorough than that actually portended six months ago. Germany was to be reduced to the five independent states of Austria, Prussia, Bavaria, Saxony, and Hanover; the inheritances of the extinguished Houses being divided among the survivors, according to the relationship of their sovereigns or the natural suggestions of locality. Charles Albert was to be sovereign of the Lombard-Venetian kingdom from Venice to Genoa, with his capital at Milan. Tuscany was to absorb the minor duchies. Poland was to be reconstituted. Russia was to have the Danubian provinces; but Austria, as mistress of

almost inclined to smile at our agitation upon the Spanish marriages, or the Swiss schism; but the last breach of public faith with respect to Poland will hardly be forgotten, even amidst a whirlwind of revolutions. It is remarkable that M. Capefigue's treatise on the acts and guarantees of the Vienna Congress, the title of which we have prefixed to these observations, was called forth solely by this deed, which he regarded as virtually repealing that code of public law which the Treaties of 1815 had created; and by which the political system of Europe had since been governed. Cracow seems to have been "the diamond necklace" of 1846!

From the height we have at length attained, we are enabled to take a comprehensive glance at the present state of Europe: We can observe how far the harmony and effectiveness of the general system has been disturbed, or is threatened, by the recent catastrophes; and whether any of its members, either from internal disorganization or external pressure, have been rendered incapable of discharging their appointed functions. We can examine the perils to which the body politic may appear exposed through any of the ordinary sources of disorder, such as the undue aggrandizement of any leading Power, or the destruction of any minor Power having a critical mission in the system, or from the constitution of a Power altogether new. Should no such serious convulsions appear probable, we can ascertain how far the reciprocal relations of European states have been affected by the recent movements; and what modifications of the system we have been describing may now be feared or be expected.

Eight months ago it did certainly appear probable that the public law of 1815 would be swept away by the storms of the present year; as completely as that of 1648 had been scattered to the winds by the revolutions of 1791; and that the total subversion of the political fabric would leave no occasion for any such comments as we are here offering. But this extreme hazard appears now to be passed. The force of the shock it may be hoped is spent; and though the constitutional edifices of the Continent are still trembling on their bases, there seems no longer such serious reason for apprehending any permanent loss of equilibrium. France, which gave, as usual, the first signal of dis-

the northern half of European Turkey, was to be interposed between her legions and the glistening bait of the Bosphorus.

turbance, has also set the unexpected example of returning wisdom: and what we have recently asserted of the domestic proceedings of the French nation, may now be yet more unhesitatingly predicated of its external relations. As far as we may judge from what has apparently become the set tide of events, the France of 1848 is not likely to assume any other attitude towards Europe than that of the France of 1847. Hitherto, French revolutions have affected, more or less violently, the system of Europe, because they introduced entirely new principles into the general policy of a country so capable of influencing the great European commonwealth. Thus the revolution of 1789 overthrew all public law whatever; because French influence became supreme in continental Europe, and the principles of the first revolutionists survived through all the changes of the Parisian constitutions. In the same way the revolution of 1830 produced its effects, because the principles of those parties who achieved it continued to shape the policy of the government afterwards; and constitutional France, as we have already said, was in this way drawn towards the English alliance, from the *Alliance Russe*, and from the compacts of Verona, which had moulded the policy of her former cabinets. And similarly, if the existing French government really represented the identical Republic which was proclaimed in February last from the steps of the Hotel de Ville, we might confidently anticipate that the foreign politics of the Republicans, such as we on that occasion described them, would very characteristically modify the mission of France, and materially influence, if not altogether subvert, the system of Europe. It is now, however, notorious that this is not the case. Excepting in so far as the effects of the original impulse may survive (and these, we should imagine, must have been considerably qualified by subsequent warnings), it can hardly be said that republican France is now exerting on the affairs of Europe any influence, beyond or besides that legitimate influence which pertains to so great a nation. The foreign policy of the French Republic, as defined by M. de Lamartine, was indeed something to feed the speculations of Europe; but as interpreted by General Cavaignac, it is little but the policy of the best periods of the constitutional monarchy. We might, perhaps, say even more than this; for it may indeed be questioned whether any recent French government would have been

strong enough, as things then stood, to hold a French army well in hand at the foot of the Alps, while trumpets were sounding on the Tessino. France is not only recovering her position, but she is fencing it about with the cautious jealousy which recent perils have suggested. It would be difficult to select any period since the last war, at which her external demeanor has been characterized by more satisfactory moderation or greater prudence, than under the brief interlude of the Cavaignac dictatorship. Even if the style and title of the Republic be finally retained, yet it does not seem likely that any very formidable anomaly will be introduced into the system of monarchical Europe. The draft of the constitution as (perhaps not finally) revised, provides for as staid and as respectable an impersonation of sovereignty as is perhaps consistent with the character of the crisis. A President, elected for four years, and re-eligible after a like interval, with no inconsiderable patronage, and with a *traitement* more munificent than that of the First Consul, and only inferior to that of the *Grand Electeur* of M. Sieyès, will be an acceptable substitute for a committee of public safety, or a directory. Most reports concur in designating the present chief of the executive power as the probable inaugurator of this new office; and if this should indeed be the result of the approaching election, Europe, as well as France, will apparently have reason to be thankful. A firm and temperate policy, combining the national readiness for war, with a resolute determination, upon any creditable conditions to preserve peace, is what the events of the last three months lead us to hope from General Cavaignac. As regards the internal condition of his country, there is no present prospect of its falling into any such contagious or uncontrollable disorganization as would affect its relations with the other powers of Europe. That there should still survive a possibility of such a catastrophe, is part of the price which Frenchmen must pay for their Republic; but the hazard is less than could have been hoped for some months back. Order will, in all likelihood, retain its present supremacy over anarchy; and as to the particular forms into which this order may be developed, it signifies but little. Under any probable conditions, France will still apparently be the France of the last fifteen years, as well with respect to her European mission as to her domestic government. It may perhaps, be thought, that a possible restoration

of the elder Bourbons might involve a return to the old legitimist policy, and revive the combinations of 1823; but this is a contingency not very probable—in either of its assumptions. As far as speculation can be warranted in such a case as this, we may anticipate that the foreign policy of the Republic will be nearly the foreign policy of the constitutional monarchy, with the advantage, perhaps, of being exempted from those complications which dynastic interests were found to create. We may see another Ancona perhaps; but not another Marengo. There is no reason why the National Assembly should be "Republican" on this point alone; nor has it given any indications of being so disposed. Propagandism has been disclaimed and discouraged as pointedly as Communism; and the cry of "Poland" had no better success than the cry of "organised labor." These presumptions are confirmed by the attitude already taken by the French government upon the Italian question, which has brought about a situation singularly analogous to that of 1831. While we write, France and England are again acting in concert to procure a modification of the treaties of 1815 in favor of an insurgent people at the hands of an ancient ally; and most earnestly is it to be hoped that the affairs of Lombardy may be arranged as temperately as were the affairs of Belgium—with equal advantage to the system of Europe, and less incidental disturbance of its peace.

The respective positions of Austria and Prussia are characterized by singular embarrassments. In the first place, there is this most important fact to be noticed, that—as regards the joint relations previously subsisting between these States towards the rest of Europe—that alliance of the three Northern Powers, of which we have recorded the origin and the influence, must now be considered at least suspended, if not finally broken up. In fact, no incident of the late convulsions has been more remarkable than this, that Berlin and Vienna have been made to impersonate the traditional character of revolutionary Paris; and to proclaim on their own proper territories those very principles, which it has hitherto been their chief political function to neutralize and denounce. The drag has not only slipped away from the wheel of the machine, but is now actually dangling at the horses' heels, and stimulating their speed. That combination which represented the principle of conservatism in the system has disap-

peared. There no longer exists the traditional alliance of Austria, Russia, and Prussia to counterbalance the revolutionary tendencies of Southern and Central Europe or to modify the constitutional influences of England and France. How far this ancient understanding may be preserved (for future reproduction) in the breasts of the respective sovereigns, is another question. The practice which in old times obtained throughout Europe, of considering foreign politics as exclusively the personal concerns of the monarch, subsisted till a very recent date in the kingdoms alluded to; and one of the most obstinate stands made by the Prussian Court was in behalf of the king's right to reserve from the inspection or control of the new ministry his correspondence with certain foreign cabinets. Rumor states, and with no lack of likelihood, that their august Majesties of Prussia, Austria, and Russia think nearly alike upon public matters; but, however this may be, it is clear that there can be no return to the policy of past times until the work of the recent revolutions has been entirely undone;—a contingency not immediately probable. At present, Russia can meet with no more sympathy at Vienna or Berlin than at Paris; and thus all such functions in the European system as have been hitherto discharged by the "three Northern Powers" must cease and determine.

There is another consideration, affecting even still more seriously the European relations of these two states. It is a point apparently yet undecided, whether they are to be preserved at all in any such independent political existence as they have hitherto enjoyed. Our recent observations on the projected Germanic Empire showed how deliberately it was contemplated to obliterate the names of Austria and Prussia from the European map; and to absorb these first-rate and most influential powers in a new and gigantic nationality, of which it was difficult to define the function or anticipate the course. As regards the final accomplishment of the project, we have seen no reason to repudiate the misgivings which we then expressed. So little hearty or cordial co-operation towards this object is to be discovered in the proceedings of the various German governments, that we are almost induced to wonder whence the power is derived which still keeps the experimental machinery in motion. Austria, though gratified with the provisional lieutenantancy of the new government, is so notoriously disaffected to the scheme, that strong

resolutions have just been proposed in the Frankfort Assembly condemnatory of her administrative policy, and recommending the authoritative intervention of the Central Power. Prussia is naturally still less satisfied with her allotted destiny; and so generally has the "nationality" of March last been superseded in this kingdom by a less comprehensive sentiment, that "genuine Germanity" is now confined to a minority consisting mainly of students and clubbists; while "specific Prussianism" is undisguisedly professed by all classes, from the accomplished minister who has just preferred the service of his immediate master before that of the imperial governor, down to the soldiers of the army who declined by any act of homage to set the lieutenant of the empire above the sovereign of Berlin. Nay, in the Holstein negotiation, Prussia deliberately placed her independent authority beside, if not above, that of the Central Power. Bavaria is reported to be reviving the ancient traditions of her cabinet; and to be looking across the Rhine for company. Certain it is, at least, that she shows no disposition to recognize the authorities of Frankfort. Hanover declined with such characteristic abruptness the invitation to discrown herself, that hints were thrown out of summary proceedings against so dangerous an example, and it was proposed at once to declare the dominions of King Ernest an "immediacy" of the new empire—an instructive instance, indeed, of the revived prerogatives of the Cæsars. The minor states, though with less imperative motives, show an almost equal disinclination to fuse their individualities in a German unity. Yet we should not be justified in dismissing the scheme as a palpable failure. There is, in the first place, a steady doggedness of purpose in the Frankfort Assembly, resulting no doubt from the national character of its constituents, which invests its proceedings with far more significance than those of other similar bodies; not to mention the strength of the party in Germany, which does sincerely and conscientiously yearn for this mystic unity, however mystic or ill-conceived may be its purpose. Next, it is manifest that at all events the project will not be dropped without a resolute experiment, of which indeed we at this moment behold the partial operation; and considering, moreover, the extent to which certain illustrious personages have been committed in its favor, it cannot be unreasonable to suspect that some modification of the scheme, at least, may be brought about;

and that the attempt will exert some permanent influence on the configuration of Germany. It is necessary, therefore, to include this contingency of a "German Empire" among the subjects of the present review.

In the meantime, we can only conjecture the resultant policy of this extraordinary compound of antagonist traditions, by observing the conduct of the existing Assembly; which embodies, in some sort, the future nationality. Though there are certainly moments when it seems doubtful whether this Assembly is a much more faithful representation of the real sentiments of the Germanic States, than other minor conventions are of their respective countries, yet it would be unjust to deny this body the praise of a certain temperate and serious demeanor, under circumstances calculated to induce a contrary deportment. Its debates, too, upon the tempting subject of foreign politics, were distinguished by considerable knowledge and ability; not untinctured, however, with an illiberality scarcely consistent with the position of the debaters. It seems evident, by the attitude assumed both towards Italians and Slavonians, that the Germans are by no means disposed to give to other nationalities the license they demand for their own. The leading idea has hitherto been, not unnaturally, the consolidation of the German race by all requisite institutions, and the extension of the national frontiers by a somewhat unscrupulous interpretation of public law. They have laid resolute hands upon Danish Schleswig and Polish Posen; and they concurred in sanctioning the claims of Austria, and in congratulating the victorious Radetsky. But, in reflecting over the probable influence of the new empire upon the European system, we need hardly, perhaps, apprehend that it could be exerted in any destructive form. For it cannot be denied that this projected unity is but the consummation of the political theory propounded at the last reconstruction of the public law of Europe. It was argued both then and since, that the further the consolidation of the Germanic States could be carried, the better it would be for all parties; and that the true policy of Europe required the diminution, as far as was practicable, of the number of independent Powers within these territories, and the formation, in their stead, of as compact a body as could be constituted between the Vistula and the Rhine. In fact, the Confederation of 1815 was but a provi-

sional substitute for the unity then unattainable; and it would be impossible to argue that a political work, which was the very end to which all intervening arrangements had been made to tend, could be otherwise than favorable to that great result—the tranquillity of Europe—with a view to which all these arrangements had been devised. Speaking with reference to the general system, the empire of the Frankfort Assembly is the very model of that territorial configuration which was imperfectly prescribed by the Vienna Congress. The unity of Germany, too, besides settling the barrier question of the North and West, would also get rid of the special discontents of Saxony and of certain minor principalities which have never yet recovered their good temper, by educing all at once to a fraternal level of mediatization and equality.

It is obvious, however, that the abstraction of two leading Powers out of five from the European family cannot but intimately affect the whole commonwealth; and it is yet uncertain how far they may carry their respective traditions into the nationality in which they would be absorbed. Possibly they might struggle to invest with the aggregate influence of the Empire those particular forms of policy which they have hitherto advocated in their independent capacities; so that the political traditions of great German Cabinets may become like those of our great English Parties; and the policy of the Empire may be Prussian or Austrian, as that of England may be Whig or Tory. A contingency, too, not impossible, is that of the late Confederation being superseded by a duality instead of a unity. At the Congress of 1815, as well as on earlier occasions, it was suggested that Germany offered scope for two Confederations; and that the Northern States might group themselves round Prussia, while the Southern took Austria as the centre of attraction. Symptoms have been shown of a tendency to some such crystallization on the present occasion; and if this should be the case, then, of course, (putting the late revolution of principles out of the question) Austria and Prussia will just resume their old places in the system; although, from the respective opinions of the two Powers, the latter would always gain in a greater ratio than the former, from equal augmentations of strength.

If, however, the creation of a German Empire was a contingency too little improbable to be passed over in silence, it is at least no such imminent or certain occurrence

as to justify us in dismissing without remark the actual state of its intended members,—considered in their old-fashioned capacities of Austria and Prussia. The first of these Powers has just added another example to the instances already on record of the vitality and strength which may still reside in an empire conceived to have fallen into superannuation and decrepitude. Though pointed at, even before the recent convulsions, as an illustration of the decay to which a state might be brought by a parade of impotent absolutism and a blind persistence in an obsolete and unaccommodating policy, and though exposed to the first and fullest brunt of the late movement, under circumstances of internal disorganization which seemed to confirm all the predictions of her adversaries and rivals, she has yet held her own against all comers; has rallied her forces around her standard, and has at length fairly repulsed the aggressors on their own chosen ground. Notwithstanding the apparent incoherence, and even the actual repulsion which does partially exist between the multitudinous parts of her overgrown and unwieldy empire, and which has been increased by the operation of late events, yet still, as if by some instinctive and spontaneous effort, her resources have been displayed in such concentrated and successful vigor, as to set all doubts upon this point at rest. For all external purposes it really appears that the Austrian empire is at least as powerful now, as at any period since she had last occasion to try her strength in arms. A loyal attachment to the Imperial House, springing perhaps from various motives, but as conspicuous in the military colonists of South Hungary as in the mountaineers of the Tyrol, combines with a certain sentiment of ambitious pride, to centralize and keep together the heterogenous constituents of the Empire. In the final advance against the retreating Piedmontese, the Hungarian husars vied with the light horse of Croatia and the jägers of Austria Proper, in appropriating the honors of the day. Nor was this merely the result of military discipline or spirit, for it is clear that the war has throughout been popular in the several provinces; and that there was a general resolution to maintain at all hazards in this quarter the integrity of the Empire. As to the political principles introduced into the Imperial councils, though it is true that a spirit more purely democratic than that prevailing in Paris or Berlin seems to have entrenched itself in the Austrian capital, yet it only

rules in the absence of any substantial opposition; and it is reported that the victorious return of Radetzky, co-operating with Prince Windischgrätz from the North, and the Ban Jellachich from the South, is likely to restore the *status quo* of Vienna, as completely as he has restored that of Milan. We shall have presently to speak of transactions which will doubtless modify the relations of the Transalpine provinces of the Empire, and of a most momentous movement of race, which though yet undeveloped, menaces its whole constitution; but upon the whole, perhaps, there is more reason than six months ago would have been thought possible, to conjecture that if there is to be an Austria at all, its position in the European system may survive substantially undisturbed.

It is mainly in what may be termed her moral capacity that Prussia appears to have suffered any serious shock. Her material and territorial empire has been neither decentralized nor disorganized. Silesia, Brandenburg, and Eastern Prussia are of one accord as to unity and purpose. Even the Rhenish provinces are undisturbed; and the mishaps of the kingdom seem to be confined to that portion of Posen which it was thought expedient to dismember and relinquish to the old Slavonic element of its population. Recent events have afforded convincing proof that any independent Prussia will still be the Prussia of the great Frederic. Her power and place in the system promise to be the same; but the direction in which her influence will be hereafter exerted, remains to be decided between the population of the kingdom and the assembly of Berlin. It seems almost certain, speaking broadly, that the actual preponderance of power resides, if not with the court and its old supporters, yet with the constitutional party and the king; though there has been hitherto a most marked and conspicuous reluctance to put it forth against the turbulent minority, which has shown such a mischievous inclination to protract the disorders of March. It is possible, and perhaps probable, that the cordial understanding of the three Northern Powers for the old purposes of policy, will never be purely revived; and that the hereditary traditions of Prussia, must, in this respect, be replaced by some new system. Nevertheless, though her people may secure a constitutional government, there are, as yet, but too many impediments in the way of her alliance, upon these principles, with the two great constitutional powers of the West.

The attitude of Russia during these events has been characteristic and natural. She is calling forth all her resources against a possible contingency, and levies have been drawn, as in 1812, from the very shores of the Caspian. Her Polish provinces are huge garrisons of men and *matériel*; and vast bodies of troops are concentrated at intervals along the whole western frontier, from the Niemen to the mouths of the Danube. Still she resolutely abstains from actual intervention; and in her diplomatic circular addressed to the several courts of Germany, she declares in the most earnest terms that all her preparations have been and are most strictly defensive and pacific. But, as regards her general policy, she is once more isolated. It is true that she may have recently drawn more closely to the courts of Denmark and Sweden, but this is upon a simple point of territorial guarantee; and her sentiments on this head, we believe, are shared by the liberal cabinet of England and the "republican" assembly of France. Whilst, for all those purposes of European policy which were defined at Troppau, and have been so repeatedly exemplified since, Russia appears to be left, for the moment at least, without an ally. In a war of "opinions" she would, as far as can be seen at present, have one side to herself. Whether she may lend a less reluctant ear than hitherto to the future proposals of France, may depend no less on the temptations which the latter power can offer, than on the political constitution it may assume. The national purposes of Russia have been always conflicting between the innate desire of aggrandizement on one side, and the dread of political contagion on the other. Poland might perhaps be conciliated and incorporated; even Constantinople might perhaps be brought within that frontier which has stretched, in one hundred and fifty years, from the Upper Dnieper to the Lower Danube. But then, these desirable consummations are inseparable from a total abandonment of that policy which has hitherto ruled the councils of the Romanoffs.

Of the minor powers of Europe the most important for the purpose of our present discussion, are Switzerland, Sardinia, and Belgium. The position of the first of these states is somewhat curious. After setting an example of internal commotion, which reached the extremity of civil war, the Swiss Confederation is now secure and tranquil; while war and revolution are literally encircling its frontiers. The political ope-

rations, however, upon which, in connexion with the causes of the late struggle, it is now noiselessly employed, are of no slight significance as affecting its position in the general system, and its relations with the dispensing Powers of Europe. The two parties whose struggles have lately distracted Switzerland, have existed in the Cantons ever since the first convulsions of 1789, with the same principles and, virtually, the same objects. The point in dispute is the political constitution of the country. The democratic party desire an effective unity; to be raised on the ruins of the cantonal sovereignties. They wish Switzerland to become one indivisible democratic Republic; in which there shall be no power independent of the will of the numerical majority. The opposite party, as most readers, since the events of last autumn, will be aware, desire, along with more or less of aristocracy, to preserve such a federal constitution as shall leave the sovereignty of each canton safe and intact. These parties both pleaded their cause at the Congress of Vienna; and considerable discussion ensued upon the best means of organizing a state so intimately concerned in the preservation of the general equilibrium. The highest interests of Europe indeed, demand the inviolable neutrality of Switzerland. What the Channel does for France and England, Switzerland does for Eastern and Western Europe. Its possession would almost put France at the mercy of Austria, or Austria at the mercy of France—as it actually did in the campaigns respectively of 1814 and 1800. It was on this account that so much interest was taken by the Allied Powers in the internal organization of the state. All their efforts were employed to render it both as peaceable and as strong as possible, so that the temptations or opportunities of its neighbors to violate this solemn neutrality might be scanty and few. Its internal organization, indeed, involved more important considerations than its external power; for there was scarcely a probability that it could be rendered absolutely proof by its own strength against any aggression of the frontier states; whereas, by such a constitution as should make it least likely to give offence to its neighbors, they would at least be deprived of those pretexts for intervention, which the most unscrupulous ambition is generally found to wait for. With such a purpose, the Congress adopted the views of the federalist or conservative party; and devised for the constitution of Switzerland that *Pacte Fédéral* which ex-

isted till the other day. Neither our purpose nor our limits permit us now to trace the local or general revolutions of the interval. Most of the cantonal governments of Switzerland, have, as is well known, undergone material changes; and attempts have been more than once made to modify the pact according to the views of the party which conceived that it had acquired the preponderance. These attempts have hitherto failed; but they have been more resolutely renewed since the principle of cantonal independence was weakened by the events of last autumn; and a new pact, devised by the party in the ascendant, is now offered for the acceptance of the Cantons. At the time we are writing, it is reported that some four or five negative votes are expected. It is less, however, with the result of this experiment, than with the tendency of the whole transaction, that we are here concerned. The late pact was not forcibly imposed upon the Confederation by the Congress, but it was tendered, with the distinct intimation that the recognition of Swiss neutrality and independence was conditional upon its acceptance and preservation; and it was so received. These conditions are now likely to be violated; and, what is more, they will be violated at the instance and for the purposes of that party whose policy and sympathies have directly tended to defeat some of the principal ends for which the constitution was originally devised. Nothing could be more natural or appropriate than that this neutral and inviolable republic should serve as an European asylum for fugitives in political trouble: But when it was actually made, as repeatedly within the last fifteen years, a base of hostile operations on the part of these refugees against all the states on its frontiers, it became the very opposite of what was intended; and scarcely a single Power was left without a decent pretext for attacking it. At this minute the confederation has been put upon its defence by Marshal Radetzky, for having harbored a corps of armed Italians, contrary to the usages of war—a reckless course of policy, indeed, for a state which has been described as being, in all but its mountains, a Poland.

The position of Sardinia, though apparently more critical, perhaps scarcely entails so many serious contingences. To the late *coup de théâtre* in Lombardy we need give no more than an allusion. But though apparently at the mercy of a victorious enemy, and clearly defeated in his patriotic (or am-

bitious) views, it is still possible that Charles Albert, through the concurring interests of Europe and Austria, may actually gain a noble province by a lost campaign! The obvious political expediency of strengthening the prince of these mountain passes, has contributed, in modern history, to that incessant aggrandizement of the Family of Savoy, which in earlier times has always resulted from the unvarying instinct of its members. It is possible that the Treaty of Milan may continue what the Treaty of Utrecht began, and secure at length to the royal House of Savoy those fertile districts of Lombardy, and that famous isle of the Mediterranean, which they have so long coveted, and so often claimed.* It is at least

* For the reasons stated above, we have not allotted any great portion of our space to the affairs of the Two Sicilies; but as they appear likely at this minute to be more than usually interesting, we subjoin such a *résumé* of the old relations of these two countries, as may perhaps throw a little illustration on the issue of the present crisis.—Naples and Sicily first appear in modern history as a united country or kingdom after the conquests of the Normans, who won the former territory from the Greeks, and subsequently the latter from the Saracens; and we may remark, *à-propos* of these last-mentioned people, that they appear to have kept a firmer hold of this island after their nominal expulsion than of almost any other European conquest. For the Emperor Frederic II. was able, in his quality of King of Sicily, to transplant a military colony of some 30,000 of them into the Principate, and the arms of the misbelievers were largely employed by his successors to the no small scandal of Christendom. In fact, the temperament of the whole insular population was strongly oriental, as many of their revolutions showed. In both kingdoms the Greek element had continued so considerable, that Frederic directed his Constitutions of A. D. 1231 to be translated into Greek. The elder brother of the Norman conquerors took his seat in the peninsula, and the younger in the island;—the latter being held as a fief of the former—till, upon failure of this elder line, the survivor entered upon the whole inheritance under the same title which he had previously derived from his insular dominion. Being desirous of the royal dignity which hitherto had not been assumed, he bargained with an anti-pope for the distinction; and by this ecclesiastical pretender was the style and title of the “Two Sicilies”—*i. e.* peninsular and insular—first devised, though it was not currently borne till some time afterwards.

When this line also failed like the former, the Sicilian crown, after some struggles, passed to the Hohenstauffens, in the person of the Emperor Henry VI., who had married the posthumous child and eventual heiress of the first king of the Two Sicilies. We need not tell how tragically this German dynasty was extinguished, how Charles of Anjou was called in, and how Sicily, after seventeen years’ experience of French domination, successfully revolted against its oppressors at those famous Vespers. Naples and Sicily were now two; but as republics were less popular

clear, both from the traditional interests and the present attitude of Austria, and from the declared intentions of England and France, that the serviceable kingdom of Sardinia will not suffer for the faults or misfortunes of its monarch. While we are writing, the destinies of Northern Italy await the *fiat* of the umpires. Three modes of organization have been suggested, each of which has its recommendations and its difficulties. It seems to have been concluded, even by Austria herself that the detachment of Lom-

as forms of government in the days of Venice and Genoa, than they appear to be in these days of Buenos Ayres and Uruguay, the Sicilians carried their allegiance to Aragon, a state well fitted by its then maritime preponderance to accept the charge, and the reigning house of which had been connected by marriage with the extinct German line. Omitting the dynastic revolutions through which these now independent states respectively passed, we may observe, that Sicily, after having been transferred to a junior branch of the Aragonese House, reverted to the reigning branch, and at length, in the year 1412, Aragon and Sicily were formally united in the crown worn by the Castilian Prince who had been chosen to fill the throne of Aragon. The son of this monarch succeeded also in securing for himself the contested inheritance of Joanna of Bourbon, the childless Queen of Naples. Thus, about the middle of the 15th century, Naples and Sicily became once more a united kingdom. But they did not long remain in the possession of the reigning line of Aragon; since the possessor, thinking that he had full powers of disposal over these acquisitions of his individual adroitness, bequeathed the "Two Sicilies," as they were now termed, to an illegitimate son:—in whose family they remained until the famous partition which concluded the wars of Charles VIII., and which was so speedily superseded by the absorption of the whole inheritance in the patrimony of Spain.

The next appearance of either Sicily on the European field is at the Treaty of Utrecht, when the title now hoped to be revived was created anew, after more than 200 years' abeyance, in favor of that very House to which it has just been offered. The island of Sicily was adjudged to the Charles Albert of his day, Victor Amadeus II., together with the royal title which he so anxiously desired. The ground taken by the Allies, however, was found untenable; and, after a five years' possession of the island, Victor was induced reluctantly to exchange his new realm and title for that of Sardinia, Sicily being allotted on this occasion to the House of Austria. At length the squabbles for this portion of the great Spanish inheritance were finally arranged at the Peace of Vienna in 1735; and the kingdom of the "Two Sicilies," like their fabled Arethusa, emerged again into light and being, as an independent settlement for the Infante Don Carlos of the new Bourbon dynasty of Spain. In this family, with the interruption only to which Napoleon subjected all continental history, the crown has remained to the present day, when Ferdinand II. seems once more likely to behold a division of the inheritance, and to be running the risk of losing half his title as well as half his kingdom.

bardly from the Empire is a measure of expediency. The dismembered province may then be either annexed to Piedmont, or erected into an independent state, or made a kind of fief of the empire under a sovereign archduke. The first contingency alone would be likely to produce any effect upon the political system. It is true that the fortification and enlargement of the Sardinian kingdom would be nothing more than a continuation of that policy, which for more than a century and a half has been stamped with European approval; but it is doubtful whether the acquisition of Lombardy might not entail the surrender of Savoy and Nice, and still more doubtful whether, in such case, the loss would be compensated by the gain. At present Lombardy and Piedmont are actuated by a bitter, though perhaps appeasable, enmity towards each other; and the union of these discordant and disorganized provinces might prove a poor substitute for that compact and critically placed state from which such important duties are now expected. But with the exception of these considerations, and the due preservation of Austrian power at the head of the Adriatic, the distribution of the Italian territory derives all the interest attached to it, from other circumstances than its influence upon European politics. The district between the Tessino and the Mincio is insignificant in a military point of view; and presuming no foreign power to be introduced, the purposes both of Austria and of Europe would be answered by the adoption of the latter river for the Imperial frontier. As to the duchies of the Genoese Gulf, or the States of the Peninsula, though our interest in their future fortunes is undiminished, they can only enter into such considerations as we have been suggesting, upon suppositions which are now hardly probable. The consolidation of Italy entire, either as a kingdom or a confederation under an efficient Central Power, would indeed introduce a new element into the system; and this, as with the democratic party in Switzerland, was the consummation to which the views of the most advanced Italian liberalism have been conceived to tend. But whatever lessons the late revolutions in the Peninsula may have taught us, they have at least released us from all obligation of immediately discussing such a contingency as this. Italy, as a whole, has certainly not approved itself ripe for union—any more than we imagine Germany to be. In the meantime, excepting in so far as the consti-

tutions of its States may expose them to the influence of greater Powers, it matters not much, for our immediate point of view, on what particular scale it may be re-partitioned between its respective shareholders.

A few words will suffice for the yet unnoticed States of Europe. The growth of Prussia into a power of the first magnitude, appears among its other effects to preclude the likelihood of any re-appearance of the Scandinavian Powers, under ordinary circumstances, upon the fields of the Continent. That they retain strength and spirit enough to defend their own rights they have satisfactorily proved under trying circumstances; and any contest between them and their neighbors on the main-land has now become, as a royal speaker phrased it, "a fight between a dog and a fish." Though one of them is under a government as absolute as any in Europe, they have altogether escaped the revolutionary epidemic of the season, and have exhibited a feeling of nationality so practical, a union of interests so cordial, and an attachment to their institutions so resolute and sincere, as to attract the admiration even of those who thought their cause the weaker. Very different must be the comments upon the other extremity of the Continent. The Spanish Peninsula, like the Swedish and Danish, stands also unmoved by the European shock, but simply because it has already gone through its constitutional revolutions; and if the only result of this year's convulsions is to be such as is there exhibited, we might almost turn, in the impatience of despair to the policy of Verona. There is reason to believe that both in Spain and Portugal the Realistas, that is to say, the partisans of the *régime* superseded by the constitutional dynasties, comprise the majority of the population; and that it is but a comparatively small minority, which again is subdivided into those more prominent parties of Moderados and Progressistas—Chartistas and Septembristas—who have monopolized the attention of Europe. The Moderados are for the most part adventurers of good family: who are nothing without the court, but can govern the country with it. The Progressistas are the middle classes in the great towns. It is not that there linger in the breast of the majority any deep-rooted feelings of traditionary loyalty or of personal attachment, but that people would be willing to return to what they remember, in order to escape from what they experience. Perhaps at a future period some incredulity may be excited by such a picture as might now

be drawn of the inheritance of Charles V. With scarcely the political importance of Tuscany, and none of the geographical significance of Savoy, Spain might also be absorbed in the opposite continent of Africa, and leave Europe to terminate at the Pyrenees, without affecting the system of states. A rupture with the free city of Hamburg would create more inconvenience than arises from our present rupture with the cabinet of Madrid.* Treated as a mere toy for diplo-

* Perhaps, however, the curiosity of the reader may compensate for the insignificance of the subject, and render of some interest the details which unexpected disclosures have now so well elucidated. The conferences between England and France on the subject of the Spanish match resulted, as will be recollected, in a stipulation that the Queen of Spain should not wed a French prince, and that a French prince should not espouse the Infanta Maria Louise till issue had been had of the marriage of the Queen. As the fundamental condition, however, presumed that "none but a Bourbon should fill the throne of Philip V.;" the choice of a husband for the Queen was limited to the present king, his brother, and the Count Trapani. The latter, it seems, was the intended spouse at this stage of the proceedings; and such an arrangement would have made everything smooth; but the national dislike to this Neapoliton Bourbon was so strong, as to be insuperable. There was then Francisco d'Assis; but with his family Queen Christina was on such bad terms, as to render it absolutely indispensable, for the preservation of her own interests, that she should either try to exclude him from the throne, or counterbalance his influence by some rival power. The first of these alternatives suggested the Coburg alliance which was proposed by Christina herself; and when that was negatived, it was she who insisted on the simultaneous marriages, from an apprehension of what might result in the interval, if her personal foes exercised the power of royalty, while she was left without any *appui* whatever. By holding out a Coburg before King Louis Philippe, with all the desperate resolution of a woman fairly alarmed, she at length frightened the French monarch into his ill-fated consent to the double match, and thus fortified herself with the Montpensier alliance against the influence of Don Francisco's family. These marriages had been supported by the whole of one party in Spain and opposed by another. Accordingly France and England had both their Spanish party, whether they would or no. In this state the French Revolution found matters in Madrid. Both parties now became more anxious for our alliance: Christina and the Moderados to supply what they had lost in France; the Progressistas to make clean work of their adversaries at so favorable an opportunity. Neither coalition, however, on such terms, was consistent with the proper policy of this country. An alliance with the Moderados would have lost us for ever the respect of every other party, and at once have converted the Progressistas into Red Republicans. We therefore determined on neutrality, resolving to maintain friendly relations with the Progressistas, lest they might otherwise take refuge in republicanism—on the other hand, to avoid all violent quarrel with the Moderados, because they

matists, stripped of almost every vestige of external power, bankrupt in honesty, and below even its own emancipated colonies in European credit, Spain can only attract notice from the suggestions of the past, or the possibilities of the future. It should be remembered, however, that no country has ever shown such extraordinary capacity for a sudden resurrection. Three years of Alberoni's ministry restored Spain from a condition as degrading as the present (excepting the stigma of a repudiated debt), to a state not inconsistent even with her ancient grandeur; and though in the rapid succession of edifying characters which marks the phantasmagoria of Peninsula cabinets, no figure has appeared with the outline or semblance of an Alberoni, yet it is impossible to discard consideration of a country which needs nothing but such an acquisition to raise it to a level with the greatest powers of the West. Rich in national character, as in natural resources, productive beyond even the blighting influence of misgovernment, and standing now alone among her neighbors in the blessing of a surplus revenue, it seems as if Spain might any day again take rank in the European commonwealth. At the same time, to those who have considered carefully the whole circumstances of her sudden rise and her headlong fall, it may perhaps appear doubtful after all, whether the state in which she was found by Olivarez was not as naturally incidental to her constitution, as that in which she was left by Ximenes; whether her elevation is not a more curious problem than her decline; and whether the geographical isolation of her position does not require to be compensated by fortuitous and irregular advantages, before she can exert upon the general system an influence proportioned to her dominion.

We have reserved for the conclusion of our remarks, the consideration, or as the narrowness of our limits will rather render it, the proposition of a question, which far exceeds in its possible importance that of all the realities or contingencies we have hitherto numerated. The revolutions of 1848, which succeeded that of France, may, perhaps, be generally characterized as a violent reaction against that *status quo* of political principles, of which we have traced the construction at Carlsbad and Labaych, and which it has

were in office. But as this, in the eyes of the ascendant faction, was tantamount to opposition, they thought it desirable to drive away our minister and remove us from the field altogether. *Voilà tout!*

since seemed almost the exclusive function of the three Northern Powers to preserve and maintain. We do not, of course, mean to say that each particular insurrection was the explosion of feelings long cherished, the burst of repugnance long suppressed, or the prompt seizure of an expected opportunity to effect a deliberate and preconceived reform. On the contrary, every hour brings us additional reason for concluding that contagion was the principal agent in the several catastrophes; that the outbreak, or, at least, all its unconstitutional violence, was in almost every instance the work of a small, misguided, and inconsiderate minority; and that however general might have been the desire for constitutional governments, there was no wish for a suspension of all government whatever in favor of those provisional substitutes which have now so strangely assumed the prerogatives of power. Still, the revolutionary shock could never have been thus transmitted from Paris to Vienna, if the States of Central Europe had not been fitted, by some such reactionary spirit, for receiving and conducting it. But, besides these ordinary and anticipated consequences of a French revolution, the present occasion appears, among its other results, to have given an impulse of development to a particular sentiment of Nationality, hitherto unformed or dormant.

Even in this country, so conspicuously behind the Continent in its speculations upon European combinations or destinies,* convictions have been expressed, that in the possible fortunes of the Slavonic race, was comprised the only element by which the course of modern history was likely to be seriously affected. This potent element has been sensibly quickened by the events of last February. Most readers will be familiar with the general theory of Panslavism, or, in other words, with the idea, as recently elaborated by the writers of Eastern Europe,

* A curious illustration of the aptitude displayed by our neighbors for these inquiries, is to be found in a resolution passed by the Committee of Foreign Affairs in the National Assembly almost as soon as it was constituted. Representatives were nominated to prepare reports on the principal European questions as coolly as committees would be appointed in our own House of Commons to scrutinize a Railway Extension Bill: *e. g.*—M. Drouit de Lhuys was to treat the Spanish question; M. d'Aragon, the affairs of Italy; M. Xavier Durrieux those of Russia; M. Edmond Lafayette, Moldavia and Wallachia; M. Jober, Austria and the Slave countries; M. Payer, the German Confederation; M. de Voisin, the East; M. Heckeren, Prussia and Prussian Poland; and M. Puysegur, Egypt.

of uniting all Slavonic populations into one enormous empire ; which would thus almost necessarily become the master Power of this quarter of the globe. A full development of Panslavism would of course presume the supremacy of Russia ; for since the inhabitants of this empire comprise fifty-three out of the seventy-eight millions numbered by the Slavonic race, it would be impossible to consummate the projected union, without both including the population of Russia, and acknowledging her natural presidency. But a modification of the theory has been suggested, by which the idea itself is pressed into service against Russian ambition ; and indeed is represented as the only plausible expedient for checking the fated advance of that eastern empire. It is proposed that Austria, which reckons in its population returns some seventeen millions of Slavonians against six millions and a half of Germans, should give to this preponderating element its due supremacy ; should in short, declare itself a Slavonic state ; and should thus reorganize the tottering fabric of its empire upon a new and enduring basis.

We are only concerned with these and the like theories, as far as they have been invested with an actual influence upon the state of Europe under the recent movements ; and to no inconsiderable extent is this the case with the Austrian Empire. No sooner had the "constitution" of the 25th of April been promulgated, than all the nationalities between the Sääve and Dniester were in full ebullition. The inhabitants of Bohemia, being two-thirds Slavonians, refused, as will be remembered, to compromise their nationality by sending members to the German Constituent Assembly ; and by way of counteracting the Germanizing tendency of the new movement, they summoned a Slavonic Congress at Prague, from Croatia, Illyria, Gallicia, and Moravia. We need not refer to the curious coquetry of the Austrian Court with this rudimentary confederation ; nor to the tragedy which cut short the proceedings in the Bohemian capital, as our purpose is sufficiently answered by pointing out the actual effects of the movement upon the Imperial dominion. The distinct nationality of Hungary, it will be recollected, was so far recognized, that it was actually admitted to treat upon independent terms with the central government of that new confederacy or empire of which German Austria formed a part : and it has even been suggested in our diplomatic circles, that a representative of British interests

should be despatched to Pesth, so that Hungary would gain a distinction of which Austria and Prussia were soon to be deprived. But this was not all. The Imperial sanction was obtained for the incorporation with the kingdom of Hungary of those provinces which lie between its proper border and the Ottoman territories, viz., Croatia and the military colonies of the frontier. Now it happens that in the populations which compose the Hungarian State, and which it was thus proposed to amalgamate so completely, there subsist the same varieties and jealousies of race as in the Austrian empire itself—some three millions of Magyars being all that can be shown against six millions of Slavonians. The consequence has been the repetition, upon a small scale, of the troubles and distractions of the Imperial State in one of its provinces ; and the Croats and Borderers have exhibited just the same repugnance to the centralizing government of the Magyars, as did the Bohemians and Moravians to the Germanizing authorities of Frankfort. They have even gone further ; for Baron Jellachich, the Ban of Croatia, has openly levied war against the hitherto dominant race of Hungary ; has defeated the Magyars, it is said, in several engagements ; and is leading his triumphant Slavonians to the gates of Pesth. Very little reflection will be sufficient to show how such a movement as this may soon transcend, in the consequences it will carry with it, the more exciting conflicts on the Mincio and the Eyder. Even in the Parliament or Assembly of Vienna, the Slavonian deputies have already a clear majority ; and at times it has seemed as if the assumption of this Slavonic form was really the only alternative remaining to the rulers of the Austrian Empire.

But, connected with this contingency, comes the inevitable annexation or reconstitution of Poland. The ancient provinces of this kingdom are the very focus of Slavonic nationality ; and the first step of Slavonized Austria must necessarily be the recognition of their suspended rights. Three suppositions have been contemplated :—the union of all the Polish provinces in a federal Slavonic State under the rule of Austria ; their incorporation, on similar conditions, with the dominions of Russia ; or their erection into a state absolutely independent. But in either case the ultimate consummation of Panslavism would appear unavoidable ; for the intimate alliance of restored Poland either with Russia or New Austria, is almost a thing of course ; and is it then prob-

able, that with such sublimated ideas of race, these two sections of a great nationality will conceive their missions fulfilled, by simply balancing each other? At this moment the liberalization, if we may use such a term, of Prussia and Austria is presumed to have disengaged, to a great extent, the respective Polish populations of each power; and to have precluded the possibility of their retention any longer in severance or subjection. The Poles consider that they must now be necessarily competed for by Russia and Austria, and that the destinies of Europe depend upon the decision. Suggestions towards a cordial union with Russia, upon the one overpowering principle of race, have been thrown out for some years past; and, indeed, it is even more with respect to this question, that the present reports from the Danubian principalities assume their undoubted importance, than with regard to the relations between Russia and the Porte, or the great and terrible question of the East.

The provinces of Wallachia and Moldavia, to which the trans-Danubian possessions of the Turks are now limited, were among the territories wrested by Solymán the Magnificent from the kingdom of Hungary, at the time when the stream of Turkish conquest was diverted, under the direction of this great sultan, to the borders of the Danube from the banks of the Tigris and the Nile. Reduced no less by the grinding despotism of the Porte than by the pestilential influence of the climate, to almost perfect desolation, they serve by this very character of misery to strengthen the barrier between Turkey and her foe. The natural line of defence for the Ottoman Empire being the Danube, these unhealthy wastes have to be traversed by any invaders from the north-east before the real defences of the country can be arrived at; and so thoroughly have they answered their purpose, that Russian armies usually appeared before those fatal fortresses between Widdin and Ismail, shorn of one-half their strength, which had been left behind in the Moldavian swamps. Considerations of this kind quickened the national propensity of Russia to push her frontier to the Danube; and with such success were her efforts exerted, that the transfluvian provinces in question are now almost as much Russian as Turkish. By the treaty of Jassy, which concluded the bloody campaigns of Suwarrow upon the Danube, Russia obtained such a recognition of her influence beyond her own proper frontier, as to stipulate that the hospodars or governors of

Wallachia and Moldavia, should neither be appointed nor removed without consent from St. Petersburg first obtained. A disregard of this stipulation was the pretext for the war of 1810; and the right of interference was so far confirmed and extended by the treaty of Adrianople in 1829, that these Danubian principalities may be now represented as depending rather on the protectorate of Russia than on the sovereignty of the Porte. It was among the conditions exacted by Russia, that no Turks should reside in these provinces; so that her influence over a pure Romanic population (the Wallachians being the descendants of the colonists of the old Roman empire) should be preserved entire. When, accordingly, the shock of domestic revolution, reaching even to Jassy and Bucharest, caused the overthrow of the hospodar and the proclamation of a provisional government, Russia exerted her privilege by marching troops across the Pruth to rectify the disorder. This however, as we have said, is not all. By the position thus occupied she has been enabled to aid the insurgent Slavonians of Southern Hungary, with succors sent up the Danube; and it is reported that she is actively availing herself of these facilities for pushing her Slavonic interests; and that her ostensible proceedings in the Principalities do but cover the ramifications of a deeper scheme.

No reader will be surprised if, within such limits as were at our command, we have failed in giving a satisfactory account of any particular European state. We have selected for illustration those which by reason of their constitution or position appeared eminently to call for notice; but it should not be forgotten in estimating our conclusions, that we have anticipated the usual season of comment, and have offered these remarks during a period of transition, when almost every day was producing some material change in the aspect of the affairs under consideration. Perhaps, however, the very character which our observations must needs derive from such a circumstance, may lend them some additional interest hereafter, as it may be instructive to refer, when the end shall have at length arrived, to these records of a state of actual progress. In any case, we hope that we may have facilitated the comprehension of the events now daily announced from all quarters of Europe, and have enabled the reader to appreciate, with greater satisfaction to himself, the incidents of the drama still in progress. Were it a less agreeable subject to dwell upon, we

should hardly think it necessary to explain the absence of a mighty figure from our extempore panorama. We have said nothing of Great Britain, for the best of all reasons: nor shall we recur to any of those proverbial illustrations of the conspicuousness which follows upon certain conditions of retirement. Our readers will gratefully recognize the blessings which enable all mention of this country to be dispensed with, in an estimate of revolutions and their results.

If, now, we take a retrospective glance at the scenes which have passed in review before us, we shall be probably inclined to conclude, that the disturbance likely to be suffered by the political system, is smaller than could have been conceived by the most sanguine anticipations some six months ago. It does not appear that any Power will acquire undue preponderance or aggrandizement, or that any strange member will be introduced into the system, excepting on conditions hardly yet probable—the development, namely, of the new-born spirit of “nationality” into some practical and effective agency. If Germany should really become a consolidated state animated by a single will, such a Power would doubtless excite suspicions, and provoke combinations hitherto untried; though, as we have already stated, there is no great reason for supposing that its influence could be detrimentally exerted. As much, it is true, cannot be asserted of a great Slavonic state; but this contingency is much farther from its realization than a Germanic empire, and would be attended with obstacles infinitely more serious than those which, even in the latter case, have not yet been proved surmountable. Excepting, however, by the instrumentality of this new element of “race,” there does not appear much likelihood of the growth of any Power into proportions inconsistent with the stability of the system. As little is it probable that any minor Power will be demolished or absorbed. The Eastern question has not been perceptibly brought nearer its solution by the recent shock; and, as to the kingdom of Denmark, that, it would seem, may be safely left to the right arm of the Danes. If any new creations appear to be in embryo, they are not of a character to justify much beyond a passing interest. The kingdom or duchy or principality of Lombardy, will import little to the system of Europe, and a place might be found even for independent Sicily without any serious disarrangement.

Beyond doubt, the inconveniences arising

from the internal disorganization of states wear an unpleasant and menacing aspect; but the practical propagandism of February was cut very short in its career, and no power can be now said to give its neighbors any such apprehensions as those excited by Jacobinical France, or anarchical Poland. Neither, amidst all the medley of constitutional novelties, does it appear that the domestic organization of any people will become fundamentally inconsistent with the character of the European fabric, or that any dangerous discord will be introduced through the adoption of a policy or administration irreconcilable with those generally received by other governments. Still it cannot be denied that there are states which have been so rudely shaken as to be quite incapacitated for the discharge of what have hitherto been their accepted functions, and which are so altered in external circumstances, as hardly to be recognized for their former selves. But, on this point, it may be observed, that certain of those functions were such, perhaps, as to render their perpetuation by no means unconditionally desirable; not to mention that it is as yet uncertain what form or capacity they may hereafter assume. Viewed with reference to its bearings upon social and political progress, the system of Europe has been no doubt radically changed by the events which have occurred; but we are by no means prepared to allege that such change is essentially and altogether prophetic of evil.

The most satisfactory feature of the whole panorama is, perhaps, that a degree of vigorous force and virtue has been demonstrated to exist at present in the political system, which, considered in its most significant light, approaches to a guarantee of the public peace. Nothing can be more gratifying than the contrast, in this respect, of the Europe of 1848 with the Europe of 1793. Whether the political system at the earlier period, had actually, as French writers assert, become effete and useless from age and violence before the summoning of the States General, or whether, as the publicists of other nations allege, it was overthrown, while in serviceable action, by the rude shock of French aggression, it is at least certain, that when the day of trial came, it was found wanting, and that war broke out almost as abruptly as if no international ties had ever existed. At the present crisis, general war has hitherto been happily averted; and this, throughout a succession of chances unusually critical and perilous.

Sixty years ago Europe would have been infallibly plunged into flames from the Arctic Ocean to the Mediterranean, under one-tenth of the temptations which sovereigns and people have now resisted. Arbitration supersedes war, if it does not prevent it; and such a community of accord and tractability of disposition have been observable among governments of all descriptions, as

appears to promise well for future tranquillity. Most sincerely is it to be hoped, that the worst may now be really past,—that the political system of the civilized part of the world may survive undamaged in its usefulness and power,—and that the state of Europe may experience no more disturbances than such as have here been chronicled.

From the Westminster Review.

ENTOMOLOGY.

- 1.—*A Familiar Introduction to the History of Insects ; being a new and greatly improved edition of the " Grammar of Entomology."* By Edward Newman, F.L.S., Z.S., &c. London : John Van Voorst, Paternoster Row.
- 2.—*Popular British Entomology ; containing a familiar and technical description of the Insects most common to the various localities of the British Isles.* By Maria E. Catlow. London : Reeve, Benham and Reeve, King William Street, Strand. 1848.

It is a well established fact, that the attention of observant minds has ever been more or less attracted to the wonders of the insect world from a very remote period. We meet with numerous references to insects in the most ancient records which have been preserved to us ; and in the oldest of these the industry and foresight of certain insects, and the ravages of others, are specially brought under our notice. Nor is it difficult to account for this. The splendid hues of many insects, the remarkable forms of others, and the curious habits of all, are well calculated to excite the admiration even of those who know nothing of them scientifically ; while the extensive injuries committed by associated bands of creatures, individually so insignificant, could scarcely fail to confer importance upon an enemy, against whose invasions the sufferers must have felt themselves to be altogether powerless.

The scientific study of insects may be traced back to a much earlier period on the Continent than in our own country ; but we very much doubt whether, even there, the same class of individuals were ever so devoted to the pursuit as, to their honor, they have long been among ourselves. Crabbe's "friend, the weaver," was no imaginary personage ; nor is the poet's description of his hero's ardent pursuit of this "untaxed and undisputed game," by any means a mere creation of the fancy. The Spitalfields

weavers and the Sheffield cutlers have long been noted for their enthusiasm in search of

"Bright troops of virgin moths and fresh-born butterflies."

But their purpose in collecting these beautiful creatures, with a few honorable exceptions, seems to have been limited to the formation of pretty pictures by the arrangement of the gaily colored insects, according to the caprice or the taste of their captors.

The publication of Kirby and Spence's invaluable "Introduction to Entomology" gave a new direction to the study of insects, and taught their collectors that there was a far higher purpose to be attained than the mere admiration of elegant forms and gay colors. It showed beyond dispute that the external forms of these creatures are the least curious and least instructive sources of interest attaching to them ; and the popular style of the work at once secured for it an elevated rank in scientific literature, which, notwithstanding sundry unavoidable minor errors of detail, it will ever retain. In consequence of the acknowledged merit of this work, we shall not hesitate to borrow from its valuable pages such illustrative passages as may tend to further the object we have in view,—the vindication of the study of insects from the charge of being either a frivolous or an unprofitable mode of occupying time.

But although this admirable work did much towards diffusing a taste for the study

of insect life, and consequently tended greatly to dispel much of the ignorance which had previously prevailed relative to numerous obscure points of insect economy, yet even at the present day it is by no means unusual to meet with persons, tolerably well informed upon other points, who would see nothing suspicious in the famous Virgilian recipe for the production at will of a swarm of bees from the carcass of a purposely slaughtered ox, or in Kircher's directions for breeding serpents; who can believe, with Hamlet, that the "sun breeds maggots in a dead dog;" that a horse-hair will turn to an eel; and that Aphides are the *effect*, and not the *cause* of honey-dew.

The size and price of Kirby and Spence's volumes unfortunately placed them beyond the reach of general readers; they consequently remained sealed books to precisely that class who would the most gladly have availed themselves of the valuable information contained in them. No effort to remedy this, at least none that we are aware of, was made before the appearance of the three volumes on insects in Charles Knight's "Library of Entertaining Knowledge," which were precisely the description of books to rivet the attention of the reader, and to lead him on to examine for himself. In these volumes, the substance of Kirby and Spence's "Introduction," and of other generally inaccessible works, in most cases given in the very words of the authorities, is combined with much original matter from the pen of Professor Rennie, the compiler of the work. The three volumes are, moreover, profusely illustrated with wood-cuts, and their low price places them within the reach of all: though not free from error, they are admirably calculated to awaken and diffuse a taste for the observation of insects and their habits.

The best popular guide to the scientific study of Entomology that we are acquainted with, is Mr. Newman's "Familiar Introduction to the History of Insects." Being himself practically well acquainted with the subject, and knowing from experience precisely the sort of aid required by beginners, the author has made it his aim throughout the volume to give the best kind of information in the plainest language; and in this endeavor he has been eminently successful. The volume is divided into four books. The first of these—"The History of Insects"—contains a series of histories of some of the most remarkable species, copied for the most part from the works of original obser-

vers, the authority for each being scrupulously given. Having by this means exhibited the kind of material the young entomologist has to work upon, the author, in the second book, proceeds to give lucid directions for the "Collection and Preservation of Insects," with the mode of investigating them. In the third book he treats of the "Physiology or Anatomy of Insects;" and in the fourth, of their "Classification." The whole is illustrated by numerous beautiful wood-cuts, with two exceptions drawn upon the blocks by the author himself; and the character of the book is well expressed by the words of the preface, where it is spoken of as "a simple introduction, a kind of 'reading-made-easy,' to the youthful butterfly-hunter;" and this is precisely the sort of work required by those interesting members of the community.

But this excellent work is only introductory; and consequently contains no specific descriptions or characters beyond those of the classes and orders; these could not have been added without defeating the author's object, by increasing the bulk and enhancing the price of his book, with but little adequate advantage to the purchaser. Other books are thus necessary to those whom Mr. Newman has assisted over the threshold of the science. The embarrassment consequent on the very abundance of the materials for study offered by this science, must obviously render the opportunity of consulting accurate figures of insects an advantage of primary importance to the young entomologist. Unfortunately, however, the extent of the subject has precluded the possibility of giving more than a selection of the most typical forms in any general work, even when confined to British insects; and the necessarily high price of standard illustrated books on Entomology, confines the possession of such publications to the wealthy. For example, even such admirable works as those of Stephens and Curtis, in which are given descriptions of all known British insects, although the illustrations are confined to a figure of one species in each genus, so extensive is the subject that they are both very voluminous and very expensive. Several volumes of Jardine's "Naturalist's Library" published at a moderate price, are devoted to insects, and contain beautiful figures and good descriptions of a goodly number of British insects, and consequently did much towards supplying the want; and Miss Catlow's pretty little volume, just published by the Messrs. Reeve, will be found an excel-

lent accompaniment to Mr. Newman's "Introduction;" in fact we know of no more acceptable present to the young student of Entomology than these two books. Miss Catlow's "Popular British Entomology" contains an introductory chapter or two upon classification; these are followed by brief generic and specific descriptions in English of above two hundred of the commoner British species, together with accurate figures of about seventy of those described. The work is beautifully printed, and the figures for the most part nicely colored; and will be quite a treasure to any one just commencing the study of a fascinating science.

The publishers of Miss Catlow's little book have in preparation a charming popular work on Entomology, to be called "Episodes on Insect Life." We have been favored with a sight of the proof sheets, and must say that the book is admirably adapted to induce the reader to dip below the surface, and to make himself further acquainted with more of the sober realities of insect life, which, we can assure him, he will find fully as interesting as those so temptingly shown up in these delightful episodes. Many of the illustrations are exceedingly droll; insects being made to figure in them in all sorts of funny characters, and the humor displayed in the descriptions is quite on a par with that of the illustrations, which we must not omit to say are exquisitely drawn on stone in the German style.

But from this digression on books we must return to insects.

In their "Introductory letter," Kirby and Spence set forth the claims of their science to a consideration equal, if not superior, to those of the other branches of Natural History. They show the sources of pleasure opened to the entomologist from the inexhaustible nature of the subject, the infinite variety and beauty of insects, their curious habits, the instruments of attack and defence with which they are provided for their own protection, as well as those expressly intended for the construction of habitations for their progeny; and, above all, the religious instruction to be drawn from an acquaintance with these wonderful little creatures. From this letter, we make an interesting extract, showing that in most of his boasted inventions, man has long been anticipated by the insect race.

"The lord of the creation plumes himself upon his powers of invention, and is proud to

enumerate the various useful arts and machines to which they have given birth, not aware that 'He who teaches man knowledge' has instructed these despised insects to anticipate him in many of them. The builders of Babel doubtless thought their invention of turning earth into artificial stone, a very happy discovery; yet a little bee had practised this art, using indeed a different process, on a small scale, and the white ants on a large one, ever since the world began. Man thinks that he stands unrivalled as an architect, and that his buildings are without a parallel among the works of the inferior order of animals. He would be of a different opinion did he attend to the history of insects: he would find that many of them have been architects from time immemorial; that they have had their houses divided into various apartments, and containing staircases, gigantic arches, domes, colonnades, and the like; nay, that even tunnels are excavated by them so immense, compared with their own size, as to be twelve times bigger than that projected by Mr. Dodd to be carried under the Thames at Gravesend. The modern fine lady, who prides herself on the lustre and beauty of the scarlet hangings which adorn the stately walls of her drawing-room, or the carpets that cover its floor, fancying that nothing so rich and splendid was ever seen before, and pitying her vulgar ancestors, who were doomed to unsightly whitewash and rushes, is ignorant all the while, that before she or her ancestors were in existence, and even before the boasted Tyrian dye was discovered, a little insect had known how to hang the walls of its cells with tapestry of a scarlet more brilliant than any her rooms can exhibit, and that others daily weave silken carpets, both in tissue and texture infinitely superior to those she so much admires. No female ornament is more prized and costly than lace, the invention and fabrication of which seems the exclusive claim of the softer sex. But even here they have been anticipated by these little industrious creatures, who often defend their helpless chrysalis by a most singular covering, and as beautiful as singular, of lace. Other arts have been equally forestalled by these creatures. What vast importance is attached to the invention of paper! For near six thousand years one of our commonest insects has known how to make and apply it to its purposes; and even pasteboard, superior in substance and polish to any we can produce, is manufactured by another. We imagine that nothing short of human intellect can be equal to the construction of a diving-bell or an air-pump—yet a spider is in the daily habit of using the one, and, what is more, one exactly similar in principle to ours, but more ingeniously contrived; by means of which she resides unwetted in the bosom of the water, and procures the necessary supplies of air by a much more simple process than our alternating buckets—and the caterpillar of a little moth knows how to imitate the other, producing a vacuum when necessary for its purposes, without any piston besides its own body. If we think with wonder of the populous cities which have employed the united labors of man for many ages to bring them to their full extent, what shall we say to the white ants, which

require only a few months to build a metropolis capable of containing an infinitely greater number of inhabitants than even imperial Nineveh, Babylon, Rome or Peking, in all their glory?

"That insects should thus have forestalled us in our inventions, ought to urge us to pay a closer attention to them and their ways than we have hitherto done, since it is not at all improbable that the result would be many useful hints for the improvement of our arts and manufactures, and perhaps for some beneficial discoveries. The painter might thus probably be furnished with more brilliant pigments, the dyer with more delicate tints, and the artizan with a new and improved set of tools. In this last respect insects deserve particular notice. All their operations are performed with admirable precision and dexterity; and though they do not usually vary the mode, yet that mode is always the best that can be conceived for attaining the end in view. The instruments also with which they are provided are no less wonderful and various than the operations themselves. They have their saws, and files, and augurs, and gimlets, and knives, and lancets, and scissors, and forceps, with many other similar implements; several of which act in more than one capacity, and with a complex and alternate motion to which we have not yet attained in the use of our tools. Nor is the fact so extraordinary as it may seem at first, since 'He who is wise in heart and wonderful in working,' is the inventor and fabricator of the apparatus of insects; which may be considered as a set of miniature patterns drawn for our use by a Divine hand."—*Introd. i. 14.*

There is no exaggeration in these statements. The little stone-making insect first alluded to is a member of the family of mason-bees, all of which build their solid houses of artificial stone, formed principally of grains of sand selected with great care, one by one, and formed into masses with their own viscid saliva. With these masses of sand, transported singly in her jaws to the site of her building, the little architect constructs a number of cells, in each of which she deposits an egg, together with a supply of provision to be ready for the young larva on its exclusion: the vacuities between the cells are filled up with the same material as the cells themselves are formed of, and the whole is finally covered with a coating of coarser grains of sand. The mass of cells thus finished looks more like a splash of mud casually thrown on the wall than anything else, and is so hard as not to be easily penetrated by a knife; but hard as it is, certain parasitic insects contrive to pierce the structure with their boring instruments, and to deposit their eggs in the cells; the larvæ proceeding from the eggs of these intruders devour the provision stored up by the industrious cell-builders, whose care for the safety of their offspring is thus frustrated.

Another family of bees includes the upholsterers, which excavate burrows in the earth for the reception of their eggs. These burrows they line with an elegant tapestry of leaves or flowers, cut from the living plants. One of these bees selects the brilliant scarlet petals of the poppy for the drape of her apartments. After having excavated a burrow about three inches in depth, and polished its sides, she flies to the poppies, cuts oval pieces out of their flowers, and returns to her cell with these portions so cut out carried between her legs. The petals of poppies, before they are fully expanded, are much wrinkled; the bee manages to smooth out the wrinkles, and otherwise fit the pieces to the places they are to occupy. Placing three or four coats at the bottom, she overlays her walls with the brilliant tapestry, proceeding from below upwards until the whole is covered. An egg is then deposited, a supply of food provided, and the upper portion of the lining folded in so as to envelope the contents of the cell, the mouth of which is last of all closed with earth. The proceedings of the other upholsterer bees are equally curious; they usually select the green leaves of trees for the lining of their burrows, which are filled with several thimble-shaped cells, placed one within the other, the rounded end of one fitting into the mouth of that next below it.

The wonderful building operations of the white ants form the subject of a most interesting paper by Smeathman, quoted by Mr. Newman from the "*Philosophical Transactions.*" This chapter is too long for extract we must therefore beg to refer our readers to the work itself, with the assurance that the perusal will amply repay the trouble; but we may be allowed to quote a summary account of the labors of these insects from Kirby and Spence.

"That such diminutive insects (for they are scarcely a fourth of an inch in length), however numerous, should, in space of three or four years, be able to erect a building twelve feet high, and of a proportionate bulk, covered by a vast dome, adorned without by numerous pinnacles and turrets, and sheltering under its ample arch myriads of vaulted apartments of various dimensions, and constructed of different materials—that they should, moreover, excavate, in different directions and at different depths, innumerable subterranean roads or tunnels, some twelve or thirteen inches in diameter, or throw an arch of stone over other roads leading from the metropolis into the adjoining country to the distance of several hundred feet—that they should project and finish the (for them) vast interior staircases or bridges lately described

—and, finally, that the millions necessary to execute such Herculean labors, perpetually passing to and fro, should never interrupt or interfere with each other,—is a miracle of nature, or, rather, the Author of nature, far exceeding the most boasted works and structures of man: for, did these creatures equal him in size, retaining their usual instincts and activity, their buildings would soar to the astonishing height of more than half a mile, and their tunnels would expand to a magnificent cylinder of more than three hundred feet in diameter; before which the pyramids of Egypt and the aqueducts of Rome would lose all their celebrity, and dwindle into nothing.”—Intro. i. 512.

Examine the nest of the common wasp. This is generally formed in an underground cavity, usually in a bank; it is oval in shape, about sixteen or eighteen inches long, and twelve or thirteen broad. A well-peopled nest will contain at least 16,000 cells, similar in shape to those of the honey bee, and like them disposed in combs or layers; but unlike those of the bee, the cells of the wasp do not contain honey, are not formed in double layers, and do not consist of wax, but of the same substance as the external envelope of the nest. What is this substance? No other than paper, of a grayish color, which the insect instinctively knew how to manufacture from the fibres of wood, detached by their jaws from posts, rails, or other places, long, long before the art of making paper as we now see it was discovered by man; and the *pasteboard* nests of another wasp, a native of Ceylon, vie in whiteness, solidity, and polish with the most superior article of that description ever fabricated by the most celebrated manufacturers.

The spider alluded to as having forestalled the diving-bell, forms her curious habitation at the bottom of the water. She spins a number of loose threads, which are attached to the leaves and stems of water-plants; over this frame-work she next spreads a transparent varnish, impervious to water; then by ascending to the surface she manages to carry down into the chamber thus formed a bubble of air, and fills the chamber by repeating her visits to the surface a sufficient number of times to effect its distension, each time carrying down a bubble of air.

On the under side of the leaves of pear-trees may often be seen, in spring, a number of spine-like projections, about a quarter of an inch high, and not much thicker than a pin. These are the silken tents of a little caterpillar, which preys upon the parenchyma or pulp of the leaf. The tent is attached to the leaf by a number of silken threads; but should any extraordinary vio-

lence threaten to disturb the perpendicularity of the habitation, the tenant instantly creates a vacuum in the lower portion by ascending to the upper part; its body fills the upper portion, and thus leaves the lowermost free of air; the vacuum so caused serving to attach the tent quite firmly to the leaf.

One of the most curious things connected with insect economy, is that succession of changes from the egg to the perfect state through which all insects pass. In reference to these changes, or metamorphoses, as they are called, which equal in wonder while they surpass in interest any of the transformations recorded in the pages of Ovid, Kirby and Spence have some appropriate remarks which are by no means exaggerated.

“Were a naturalist to announce to the world the discovery of an animal, which, for the first five years of its life, existed in the form of a serpent; which then, penetrating into the earth, and weaving a shroud of pure silk of the finest texture, contracted itself within this covering into a body without external mouth or limbs, and resembling, more than anything else, an Egyptian mummy; and which, lastly, after remaining in this state without food and without motion for three years longer, should, at the end of that period, burst its silken cerement, struggle through its earthly covering, and start into day a winged bird,—what think you would be the sensation excited by this strange piece of intelligence? After the first doubts of its truth were dispelled, what astonishment would succeed! Amongst the learned, what surmises!—what investigations! Amongst the vulgar, what eager curiosity and amazement! All would be interested in the history of such an unheard-of phenomenon; even the most torpid would flock to the sight of such a prodigy.”—Intro. i. 58.

And yet, without exciting much surprise, this is what is continually going on under our eyes: with divers modifications of minor import, it is the course through which have passed the countless hosts of insects, many of which were formerly believed to be the result of spontaneous generation—an absurd idea, by no means exploded in our own days. Harvey’s aphorism—*omne vivum ex ovo*—is no less true of the most minute insect than of the gigantic ostrich. On the score of variety the advantage is indeed on the side of the insect: for while the chick, when it breaks the shell of its prison, is in all respects a bird, and as such fitted to inhabit the same element as its parent, the young insect frequently passes the preliminary stages of its existence in a medium which would be fatal to its perfect progenitor. The

common gnat, for example, deposits its eggs in water, attaching them side by side, by means of its long hind legs, in such a way as to form a perfect life-boat, which no rough treatment can upset or sink; it being doubtless essential for the welfare of the future progeny that the eggs should float on the surface of the water and not sink in it.

The two next stages of the gnat's existence are passed in the water. Every one is well acquainted with the little active wriggling creatures, with large heads, which during the summer months abound in water, and especially rain water, when freely exposed to the air. These are the larvæ and and pupæ* of gnats. The larvæ as soon as they leave the floating egg, descend into the water, there to await the arrival of the period for assuming their winged aerial condition. But although they thus exist in a different element, yet the respiration of atmospheric air is absolutely necessary to their existence; and the means of obtaining it are accordingly provided in the shape of a curious apparatus situated near the tail of the larva. The larva suspends itself from the surface of the water by means of the extremity of this breathing tube, which is capable of being opened out into a stellate form, and it thus, while used as an organ of respiration, also acts as a buoy. When the little creature wishes to descend, it closes the hairs at the end of the tube; and on re-ascending they are again opened.

After two or three moultings, the larva of the gnat becomes a pupa; in this state food seems to be no longer necessary, but fresh air is indispensable to its existence, though still living in the water. Unlike that of the larva, the respiratory apparatus of the pupa consists of two tubes placed behind the head, instead of being situated in the tail, which in the pupa is fin-shaped, and appears by its motion to assist the animal in maintaining its position at the surface of the water.

The next operation—that of assuming the perfect state—is a most interesting one, which we have witnessed with admiration many times. It is well described in Réaumur's "Insect Transformations;" and this

* "We have four stages in the life of an insect—four states which it is necessary thoroughly to understand; the egg (*ovum*), which is motionless and apparently lifeless; the grub (*larva*), which is active, but without wings, voracious, and grows rapidly; the chrysalis (*pupa*), which is quite motionless, and does not occur in all insects; the perfect insect (*imago*), which is active, has wings, does not grow, and which, by laying eggs, perpetuates its kind."—Newman, 2.

account being very accurate, we give it entire.

"About eight or ten days after the larva of a gnat is transformed into a pupa, it prepares, generally towards noon, for emerging into the air, raising itself up to the surface so as to elevate its shoulders just above the level of the water. It has scarcely got into this position for an instant, when, by swelling the part of its body above water, the skin cracks between the two breathing tubes, and immediately the head of the gnat makes its appearance through the rent. The shoulders instantly follow, enlarging the breach so as to render the extrication of the body comparatively easy. The most important and indeed indispensable part of the mechanism, is the maintaining of its upright position, so as not to get wetted, which would spoil its wings, and prevent it from flying. Its chief support is the rugosity of the envelope which it is throwing off, and which now serves it as a life-boat, till it gets its wings set at liberty, and trimmed for flight. The body of the insect serves this little boat for a mast, which is raised in a manner similar to moveable masts in lighters constructed for passing under a bridge, with this difference, that the gnat raises its body in an upright direction from the first. 'When the naturalist,' says Réaumur, 'observes how deep the prow of the tiny boat dips into the water, he becomes anxious for the fate of the little mariner, particularly if a breeze ripples the surface, for the least agitation of the air will waft it rapidly along, since its body performs the duty of a sail as well as of a mast; but as it bears a much greater proportion to the little bark than the largest sail does to a ship, it appears in great danger of being upset; and once laid on its side all is over. I have sometimes seen the surface of the water covered with the bodies of gnats which had perished in this way; but for the most part all terminates favorably, and the danger is instantly over.' When the gnat has extricated itself all but the tail, it first stretches out its two fore legs, and then the middle pair, bending them down to feel for the water, upon which it is able to walk as upon dry land, the only aquatic faculty which it retains after having winged its way above the element where it spent the first stages of its existence."—Lib. Ent. Knowl. Ins. Trans., p. 317.

The dragon-flies, or "horse-stingers," as they are erroneously called by the country people, also deposit their eggs in the water, where they are hatched; and the young, like those of the gnat, pass the two first stages of their life in that element. The larva is furnished with a very curious respiratory apparatus, by which it is enabled to sustain an intermittent pumping up and discharge of water, thus serving at the same time both as an organ of locomotion and of respiration. But this is not the only curious circumstance connected with this larva. The under lip of the mouth in the larva of most insects is

very small; but in that of the dragon-fly it is very large and of a most extraordinary structure, thus well described by Kirby and Spence.

"It is by far the largest organ of the mouth, which, when closed, it entirely conceals, and it not only retains but actually seizes the animal's prey, by means of a very singular pair of jaws with which it is furnished. Conceive your under lip (to have recourse, like Réaumur on another occasion, to such a comparison) to be horny instead of fleshy, and to be elongated perpendicularly downwards, so as to wrap over your chin, and to extend to its bottom,—that this elongation is there expanded into a triangular convex plate, attached to it by a joint, so as to bend upwards again and fold over the face as high as the nose, concealing not only the chin and the first-mentioned elongation, but the mouth and part of the cheeks; conceive, moreover, that to the end of this last mentioned plate are fixed two other convex ones, so broad as to cover the whole nose and temples,—that these can open at pleasure transversely, like a pair of jaws, so as to expose the nose and mouth, and that their inner edges where they meet are cut into numerous sharp teeth, or spines, or armed with one or more long sharp claws;—you will then have as accurate an idea as my powers of description can give of the strange conformation of the under lip in the larvæ of *Libellulina*, which conceals the mouth and face precisely as I have supposed a similar construction of your lip would do yours. You will, probably, admit that your own visage would present an appearance not very engaging while concealed by such a mask; but it would strike still more awe into the spectators, were they to see you first open the two upper jaw-plates, which would project from each temple like the blinders of a horse; and next, having by means of the joint at the chin, let down the whole apparatus, and uncovered your face, employ them in seizing any food that presented itself, and conveying it to your mouth. Yet this procedure is that adopted by the larva of the dragon-fly provided with this strange organ. While it is at rest, it applies close to and covers the face. When the insects would make use of it, they unfold it like an arm, catch the prey at which they aim by means of the mandibuli-form plates, and then partly re-fold it so as to hold the prey to the mouth in a convenient position for the operation of the two pair of jaws with which they are provided. Réaumur once found one of them thus holding and devouring a large tadpole; a sufficient proof that Swammerdam was greatly deceived in imagining earth to be the food of animals so tremendously armed and fitted for carnivorous purposes. In the larvæ of *Libellula*, *Fabr.*, it is so exactly resembling a mask, that if entomologists ever went to masquerades, they could not more effectually relieve the insipidity of such amusements, and attract the attention of the *demoiselles*, than by appearing at the supper table with a mask of this construction, and serving themselves by its assistance."—*Introd.* iii. 126.

These voracious larvæ do not, however, trust solely to this curious apparatus when seeking for prey, for they stealthily close upon it as a cat will do upon a bird or upon a mouse, and then suddenly unmasking seize it by surprise: insects, tadpoles, and even small fishes are thus captured.

Like the pupa of the gnat, that of the dragon-fly is under the necessity of seeking the air in order to assume its perfect winged condition, but its avoidance of water is much more complete than in the case of the gnat; for not content with merely ascending to the surface, there to get rid of its now useless integument, the dragon-fly leaves the water entirely, generally by crawling up the stems of aquatic plants, upon which it fixes itself by means of its claws, and thus remains motionless for a time, as if to gain strength for the coming struggle. After a while, the envelope may be seen to burst open between the shoulders; through the aperture protrudes the head of the perfect fly, and this is quickly followed by its legs, the cases of which remain attached as before to the plant. Another period of rest now intervenes, the head and upper portion of the body being bent backwards, and gradually becoming dry and firm. The fly then firmly grasping the upper portion of its cast skin with its feet, gradually draws out the remainder of its body, and again rests immovably. During this state of inaction the wings expand, all the crumples, plaits, and folds incidental to the confined space previously occupied gradually disappear, and the whole wing becomes a beautiful smooth gauzy membrane, traversed by nerves, and nearly the length of the body, which has at the same time been gradually enlarging and lengthening, and the limbs acquiring their just size and proportions. Moreover, while the wings are thus drying and expanding, the insect is instinctively careful to prevent their coming in contact, while wet, with any part of the body, which would render them unfit for use, by arching the latter in such a way that the convexity is downwards. The whole of this curious process we have watched with admiration; and once had the pleasure of explaining it to a little intelligent country boy, who happened to pass the piece of water where it was going on, and put the question, "What be them 'ere things a-doin'?"

In a former number of this "Review" we quoted from the "Zoologist" an exceedingly interesting account of the final transformation of a small species of *Ephemera*, or day-fly, illustrative of what Mr. Newman well

calls "the strange fact of an insect's flying before it reaches the imago; that is, flying in its penultimate state." The eggs of these flies are laid in the water, like those of the dragon-flies, which belong to the same class (*Neuroptera*), and the gnats. The larvæ live in the water two and even three years; when the imago is about to cast off its pupa-skin, it leaves the water, and proceeds in the manner described in the quotation above referred to. The duration of the perfect insect's life is at most a few hours.

The Phryganeæ, or caddis-flies, also deposit their eggs in the water. The larvæ construct for themselves little habitations of small shells (which sometimes contain their living tenants), grains of sand, small stones, bits of stick, and other similar substances, made to adhere by the prototype of marine glue. These larvæ cannot swim, but being furnished with six legs, they walk with facility at the bottom of the water: and being themselves heavier than water, it is necessary that their habitations should have a specific gravity so nearly corresponding with that of the water, that the animals may move about without being floated to the surface on the one hand, or compelled to remain at the bottom on the other. The larvæ, therefore, evince their instinct-prompted knowledge of hydrostatics, by attaching to their cells a piece of straw, or some other light substance, if too heavy; or too light, a shell or a piece of gravel. They never quit their habitations until about to assume the perfect form; when about to become pupæ, the larvæ withdraw within their cases, after fixing them to some solid substance, and close each extremity with a grating which readily permits the passage of water through the case, this being necessary for respiration. The pupa makes its way out by means of a pair of hooked jaws, and swims about until it leaves the water for the purpose of undergoing its final ecdysis; some of them climb up aquatic plants, like the pupæ of dragon-flies; others simply float up to the surface, as the pupæ of the gnats do.

It is very difficult, without actually witnessing the successive stages of the lives of such insects, to realize the curious fact, that the little merry dancing gnats, whose aerial gambols all have observed; and the quick-darting dragon-flies, with their iridescent glistening wings; and the gay Ephemereæ, whose aerial life is to terminate in a few hours from the period of their assuming it; were once the inhabitants of an element which would be fatal to them in their now

perfect form. Yet are there many insects whose lives are passed under similarly opposite conditions; and still more numerous are those whose progress from birth to maturity is characterized by changes of structure equally curious, which, however, are not so strikingly marked in consequence of their occurring in situations and under circumstances less opposed than those we have been considering.

Every resident in the country is well acquainted with the common cockchafer, or May-bug, but few, perhaps, are aware that the form in which they are most familiar with it—that of a large beetle—is the ultimate one of four several stages of insect life. Four years before the May-bug makes its presence unpleasantly known to us by dashing in our faces during our rural walks on the delicious evenings we sometimes have in May, it was carefully deposited in some field or meadow, in the form of an egg, in company with perhaps hundreds of similar eggs, by a May-bug like itself. The parent, having performed this duty, would soon cease to exist; and towards autumn the eggs would give birth to numerous minute whitish grubs. Between this period of hatching and the third autumn, the grubs increase greatly in size, and cast their skins three or four times, each time burrowing deeper than their usual feeding level, as they likewise do in the winter, when they become torpid. In the third autumn after they are hatched the grubs prepare for assuming the pupa state, by burrowing to the depth of about a yard; and in a little chamber at the bottom of the burrows they remain inactive until the following January or February, when the perfect beetles emerge from the last covering they are to cast off; but for ten or twelve days they remain quite as soft as when in their first stage of existence, and do not venture to quit their subterranean asylum until May, when they may be seen crawling out of the ground in great numbers, and soon taking flight. In the perfect state these insects live upon the leaves of trees; but the voracious grubs devour the roots of grasses, sometimes destroying whole acres of the finest pasture, and, as Kirby and Spence well observe, they "undermine the richest meadows, and so loosen the turf, that it will roll up as if cut with a turving spade." Records have from time to time appeared of the extensive ravages of these grubs, which do not confine themselves to grass, but also eat the roots of corn. The rooks are their most determined enemies; for they not only follow the plough

for the purpose of devouring the grubs of the cockchafer, which, among others, are sometimes turned up in the furrows in great numbers, but they instinctively, as it were, pitch upon those meadows and portions of meadows where the grubs are pursuing their subterranean work of destruction, root up the grasses with their strong beaks, and feast luxuriously upon the rich repast thus laid bare; as if to revenge themselves upon the cause of the charge undeservedly brought against them, of doing an injury to the farmer by uprooting his grass, when, in reality, they are conferring upon him one of the greatest benefits, by destroying an insidious enemy.

The very extensive class Coleoptera, or the beetle tribe, to which the cockchafer belongs, furnishes many other examples of insects exceedingly injurious to agriculture, both in the larva and perfect states. Such are the different kinds of weevil which attack grain, both while growing and when stored away in the granary; the turnip-fly; the wire-worm, which is the grub of one of the little slender beetles allied to the exotic fire-flies; and many others, an attentive study of whose habits in their various stages would probably suggest remedies for the injuries inflicted by them. On the other hand, the same class furnishes examples of insects conferring benefits upon man, either by preying upon other insects whose ravages interfere with his comforts or with the supplying of his necessities, or by removing decaying substances which would otherwise become offensive to the senses. Of the former description are the larvæ of the lady-birds, which do good service by destroying the Aphides infesting the hop; of the latter, in a small way, is the sexton, or burying beetle, which actually consigns to the bosom of mother earth the body of any small animal it may meet with; not, however, with a view of conferring a benefit upon the "lord of creation," but in order that its own progeny may be provided with a fitting nidus, and that they may find a sufficient store of provision on emerging from the egg. An exceedingly pleasing description of the proceedings of this beetle and his mate, from the pen of an observer who, we regret, now writes no more, appeared some years ago in the "Entomological Magazine," with the signature of "Rusticus, of Godalming," and is quoted by Mr. Newman in his "Introduction to the History of Insects," from which we here extract it.

"The sexton-beetle is about an inch in length;

it is of a black color, and so fœtid, that the hands smell for hours after handling it; and if it crawl on woollen clothes which are not washed, the smell continues for several days. The sexton-beetle lays its eggs in the bodies of putrefying dead animals, which, when practicable, it buries in the ground. In Russia, where the poor people are buried but a few inches below the surface of the ground, the sexton-beetles avail themselves of the bodies for this purpose, and the graves are pierced with their holes in every direction; at evening, hundreds of these beetles may be seen in the church-yards, either buzzing over recent graves, or emerging from them. The sexton-beetle, in this country, seldom finds so convenient a provision for him, and he is under the necessity of taking much more trouble; he sometimes avails himself of dead dogs and horses, but these are too great rarities to be his constant resort; the usual objects of his search are dead mice, rats, birds, frogs, and moles; of these, a bird is most commonly obtained. In the neighborhood of towns, every kind of garbage that is thrown out attracts these beetles as soon as it begins to smell; and it is not unusual to see them settling in our streets, enticed by the grateful odor of such substances. The sexton-beetles hunt in couples, male and female; and where six or eight are found in a large animal, they are almost sure to be males and females in equal numbers; they hunt by scent only, the chase being mostly performed when no other sense would be very available, viz., in the night. When they have found a bird, great comfort is expressed by the male, who wheels round and round above it, like a vulture over the putrefying carcass of some giant of the forest. The female settles on it at once, without this testimonial of satisfaction. The male at last settles also, and a savory and ample meal is made before the great work is begun. After the beetles have appeased the calls of hunger, the bird is abandoned for a while; they both leave it to explore the earth in the neighborhood, and ascertain whether there is a place suitable for interment; if on a ploughed field there is no difficulty; but if on grass, or among stones, much labor is required to draw it to a more suitable place. The operation of burying is performed almost entirely by the male beetle, the female mostly hiding herself in the body of the bird about to be buried, or sitting quietly upon it, and allowing herself to be buried with it: the male begins by digging a furrow all round the bird, at the distance of about half an inch, turning the earth outside; his head is the only tool used in this operation; it is held sloping outwards, and is exceedingly powerful. After the first furrow is completed another is made within it, and the earth is thrown into the first furrow; then a third furrow is made, and this is completely under the bird, so that the beetle, whilst working at it, is out of sight: now, the operation can only be traced by the heaving of the earth, which soon forms a little rampart round the bird; as the earth is moved from beneath, and the surrounding rampart increases in height, the bird sinks. After incessant labor for about three hours, the beetle emerges, crawls upon the bird, and takes a survey of his work. If the fe-

male is on the bird, she is driven away by the male, who does not choose to be intruded upon during the important business. The male beetle then remains for about an hour perfectly still, and does not stir hand nor foot; he then dismounts, dives again into the grave, and pulls the bird down by the feathers for half an hour; its own weight appears to sink it but very little. At last, after two or three hours' more labor, the beetle comes up, again gets on the bird, and again takes a survey, and then drops down as though dead, or fallen suddenly fast asleep. When sufficiently rested he rouses himself, treads the bird firmly into its grave, pulls it by the feathers this way and that way, and having settled it to his mind, begins to shovel in the earth; this is done in a very short time, by means of his broad head. He goes behind the rampart of earth, and pushes it into the grave with amazing strength and dexterity: the head being bent directly downwards at first, and then the nose elevated with a kind of jerk, which sends the earth forwards. After the grave is thus filled up, the earth is trodden in, and undergoes another keen scrutiny all round, the bird being completely hidden; the beetle then makes a hole in the still loose earth, and having buried the bird and his own bride, next buries himself.

"The female having laid her eggs in the carcass of the bird, in number proportioned to its size, and the pair having eaten as much of the savory viand as they please, they make their way out, and fly away. The eggs are hatched in two days, and produce fat scaly grubs, which run about with great activity; these grubs grow excessively fast, and very soon consume all that their parents had left. As soon as they are full grown they cease eating, and burrowing further in the earth become pupæ. The length of time they remain in this state appears uncertain; but when arrived at the perfect state, they make round holes in the ground, from which they come forth."—Newman, p. 53.

Of the unwearying industry shown by these beetles, some idea may be formed by the result of experiments conducted by M. Gleditsch, as quoted by Kirby and Spence, from an interesting article in the "Acts of the Berlin Society" for 1752. M. Gleditsch found that "in fifty days four beetles had interred in the very small space of earth allotted to them, twelve carcasses: viz., four frogs, three small birds, two fishes, one mole, and two grasshoppers, besides the entrails of a fish, and two morsels of the lungs of an ox. In another experiment a single beetle buried a mole forty times its own bulk and weight in two days." To this account the authors add the following pertinent remarks:

"It is plain that all this labor is incurred for the sake of placing in security the future young of these industrious insects along with a necessary provision of food. One mole would have sufficed a long time for the repast of the beetles themselves, and they could have more conveniently fed upon

it above ground than below. But if they had left thus exposed the carcass in which their eggs were deposited, both would have been exposed to the imminent risk of being destroyed at a mouthful by the first fox or kite that chanced to espy them."—Intro. i. 354.

Much as we may deplore the devastations of the timber-boring insects, among which the beetle tribe figures most conspicuously, it must be remembered that in pursuing their destructive operations they are but performing their share of the general economy of nature, which provides for the removal of all organic substances, whether animal or vegetable, as soon as the vital principle has ceased to actuate them. That all such substances shall return to the dust whence they sprang is a decree from which there is no appeal; and the insect tribes do but hasten its fulfilment, while engaged in destroying our books, our furniture, the wooden framework of our houses, or the lofty tenants of our forests. The ease with which wood, when much "worm-eaten," is crumbled, even between the fingers, is well known; but it may not be so generally understood that the "worms" which produce this effect upon articles of furniture formed of wood, are no other than the soft-bodied grubs of various coleopterous insects, which are thus carrying out on a small scale the more extensive operations that quickly reduce to a similar condition the giants of tropical forests. Our domestic pests of this description are chiefly small beetles, which pass the early part of their lives in the wood, and by means of their powerful jaws mine through it in all directions, only emerging when they assume the perfect state. One of these is the "death-watch," which even yet is an object of superstitious dread to the inhabitants of many an old house, of the wood-work of which it has taken possession. The ticking noise, so alarming to weak minds, and which is often considered an infallible presage of impending death to some member of the family, is merely the call note of the perfect beetle of several species chiefly belonging to the genus *Anobium*, and, as we have often observed, principally by the largest species, *A. tessellatum*. The manner of producing this noise, which greatly resembles the ticking of a watch, is thus very accurately described by Kirby and Spence.

"Raising itself upon its hind legs, with the body somewhat inclined, it beats its head with great force and agility upon the plane of position; and

its strokes are so powerful, as to make a considerable impression if they fall upon any substance softer than wood. The general number of distinct strokes in succession, is from seven to nine or eleven. They follow each other quickly, and are repeated at uncertain intervals. In old houses, where these insects abound, they may be heard in warm weather during the day. The noise exactly resembles that produced by tapping moderately with the nail upon the table; and when familiarized, the insects will answer very readily the tap of the nail."—Intro. ii. 383.

They also answer the ticking of a watch, if laid upon wood inhabited by them. By way of relieving this dry discussion, we may quote Dean Swift's description of the death-watch, with his infallible method of breaking the spell. He calls it—

"A wood-worm,
That lies in old wood like a hare in her form:
With teeth or with claws it will bite or will scratch,
And chambermaids christen this worm a death-
watch;
Because, like a watch, it always cries 'click';
Then woe be to those in the house who are sick!
For, sure as a gun, they will give up the ghost,
If the maggot cries 'click,' when it scratches the
post;
But a kettle of scalding hot water injected,
Infallibly cures the timber affected:
The omen is broken, the danger is over,
The maggot will die, and the sick will recover."

After enumerating many important services rendered to man by insects in the removing of decaying organic matters, Kirby and Spence conclude their long list of insect injuries and benefits with the following paragraph:—

"Benefits equally great are rendered by the wood-destroying insects. We, indeed, in this country, who find use for ten times more timber than we produce, could dispense with their services; but to estimate them at their proper value, as affecting the great system of nature, we should transport ourselves to tropical climes, or to those under the temperate zones, where millions of acres are covered by one interminable forest. How is it that these untrodden regions, where thousands of their giant inhabitants fall victims to the slow ravages of time, or the more sudden operations of lightning and hurricanes, should yet exhibit none of those scenes of ruin and desolation that might have been expected, but are always found with the verdant characters of youth and beauty? It is to the insect world that this great charge of keeping the habitations of the Dryads in perpetual freshness has been committed. A century almost would elapse before the removal from the face of nature of the mighty ruins of one of the hard-wooded tropical trees, by the mere influence of the elements. But how speedy its decomposition, when their operations are assisted by insects! As soon as a tree is fallen, one tribe attack its bark,

which is often the most indestructible part of it; and thousands of orifices into the solid trunk are bored by others. The rain thus insinuates itself into every part, and the action of heat promotes the decomposition. Various fungi now take possession and assist in the process, which is followed up by the incessant attacks of other insects, that feed only upon wood in an incipient state of decay. And thus, in a few months, a mighty mass, which seemed inferior in hardness only to iron, is mouldered into dust, and its place occupied by younger trees full of life and vigor."—Intro. i. 260.

That the office of clearing the ground encumbered by the fallen monarchs of the forest is effectually aided by insects, is well attested by travellers in those regions where vegetation assumes its most luxuriant character; and in this work the larvæ of the beetle tribe do good service, in which they are assisted by those of insects belonging to the tribe next to be considered.

The Lepidoptera, or the butterfly and moth tribe, offers, perhaps, some of the most attractive insects, whether to the scientific or the non-scientific entomologist. The butterfly, with its gorgeous hues, its devious flight, and the comparative obscurity of its previous life, has furnished to poets of all ages some of their most glowing similes, and to philosophers, from a very early date, a number of striking and beautiful analogies with the repose of the tomb and the probability of a more glorious hereafter. These insects are also associated with the most agreeable images of the happiest period of our early days, when, like the youthful Marcius, as portrayed by Shakspeare, we pursued the "rainbow butterflies," regardless of wet, dirt, and tumbles, and equally careless as to whether the object of our pursuit were "cabbage," "peacock," or "tortoiseshell." Peter Pindar's clever but sarcastic description of the exploits of Sir Joseph Banks, in his mad career after the Emperor of Morocco, is by no means a very exaggerated picture of the doings of many an enthusiastic collector, with a glittering prize in view; and we question whether the coldest among them would hesitate to follow the example of the worthy knight, with a shadow of a chance of capturing the Purple Emperor.

Most persons, at some time or other, have kept silkworms, and are consequently pretty well acquainted with the changes they undergo in their progress from the egg to the perfect winged condition. To those who have not had this opportunity of practically gaining a knowledge of the economy of the

butterfly tribe, the following passages from Kirby and Spence will, in a great measure, supply the information.

"That butterfly which amuses you with its aerial excursions, one while extracting nectar from the tube of the honeysuckle, and then, the very image of fickleness, flying to a rose, as if to contrast the hue of its wings with that of the flower on which it reposes—did not come into the world as you now behold it. At its first exclusion from the egg, and for some months of its existence afterwards, it was a worm-like caterpillar, crawling upon sixteen short legs, greedily devouring leaves with two jaws, and seeing by means of twelve eyes so minute as to be nearly imperceptible without the aid of a microscope. You now view it furnished with wings capable of rapid and extensive flights: of its sixteen feet ten have disappeared, and the remaining six are in most respects wholly unlike those to which they have succeeded; its jaws have vanished, and are replaced by a curled-up proboscis, suited only for sipping liquid sweets; the form of its head is entirely changed, two long horns project from its upper surface; and, instead of twelve invisible eyes, you behold two, very large, and composed of at least 20,000 convex lenses, each supposed to be a distinct and effective eye.

"Were you to push your examination further, and by dissection to compare the internal conformation of the caterpillar with that of the butterfly, you would witness changes even more extraordinary. In the former you would find some thousands of muscles, which in the latter are replaced by others of a form and structure entirely different. Nearly the whole body of the caterpillar is occupied by a capacious stomach. In the butterfly this has become converted into an almost imperceptible thread-like viscus; and the abdomen is now filled by two large packets of eggs, or other organs not visible in the first state. In the former, two spirally convoluted tubes were filled with a silky gum; in the latter, both tubes and silk have almost totally vanished: and changes equally great have taken place in the economy and structure of the nerves and other organs.

"What a surprising transformation! Nor was this all. The change from one form to the other was not direct. An intermediate state not less singular intervened. After casting its skin even to its very jaws several times, and attaining its full growth, the caterpillar attached itself to a leaf by a silken girth. Its body greatly contracted; its skin once more split asunder, and disclosed an ovi-form mass, without exterior mouth, eyes or limbs, and exhibiting no other symptom of life than a slight motion when touched. In this state of death-like stupor, and without tasting food, the insect existed for several months, until at length the tomb burst, and out of a case not more than an inch long, and a quarter of an inch in diameter, proceeded the butterfly before you, which covers a surface of nearly four inches square."—*Introd. i. 60.*

Witnessing, as they doubtless did, these

extraordinary changes without being able to account for them physiologically, it is quite possible, as Kirby has suggested, that "some of the wonderful tales of the ancients were grafted on the changes which they observed to take place in insects." The story of the phoenix, for example, in many of its particulars, closely resembles various occurrences in the metamorphoses of insects. At first a worm, emerging from the ashes of its parent's funeral pile, and eventually a glorious winged creature, providing in the means of its own destruction, the nidus of its future and unseen progeny; the fabled phoenix might assuredly have acquired its type from the actual butterfly, without any great stretch of imagination. Then again the doctrine of metempsychosis, or transmigration of souls, would, to the minds of the early observers, be shadowed forth in the apparent revivification of the seemingly dead chrysalis. But the doctrine of a future life, more glorious than that of transmigration, also derived support and countenance from the same remarkable vicissitudes of insect life. In the words of Mr. Newman—

"What can be more wonderful than the fact that an unsightly worm should pass through a shrouded and death-like sleep, and should wake at last a glorious butterfly, to bask in sunshine, float on the impalpable atmosphere, and quaff the luscious nectar of beauteous flowers. Well might such a miracle be made a poet's theme! Well might those philosophers, on whose mind there dawned, albeit dimly, the great truth of an after life,—well might they imagine their toilsome existence typified in the caterpillar, their descent to the quiet grave in the tomb-like repose of the chrysalis, and the hereafter they sighed for in the spirit-like resurrection of the happy butterfly; and seizing with avidity the idea, well might they designate these aerial creatures by the name of 'souls.'"—Newman, p. 73.

Observation and research have shown the true nature of insect metamorphosis; which although no longer possessing a claim to the supernatural, has by no means lost its legitimate character of the wonderful. Instead of the crawling caterpillar being *metamorphosed* into the chrysalis, in the strict sense of the term, or the quiescent chrysalis into the active butterfly, "it is now established beyond a doubt, that the wings, legs, and other parts of the butterfly pre-exist in the chrysalis, and even in the caterpillar; these facts have been ascertained by immersing the chrysalis and caterpillar in hot

* $\Psi\upsilon\chi\eta$, signifying both *soul* and *butterfly*.

water, and dissecting them when a greater degree of solidity has thus been given to the various parts." This is still more minutely explained by Kirby and Spence, in the following paragraphs:

"A caterpillar, is not, in fact, a simple, but a compound animal, containing within it the germ of the future butterfly, enclosed in what will be the case of the pupa, which is itself included in the three or more skins, one over the other, that will successively cover the larva. As this increases in size, these parts expand, present themselves, and are in turn thrown off, until at length the perfect insect, which had been concealed in this succession of masks, is displayed in its genuine form. That this is the proper explanation of the phenomenon, has been satisfactorily proved by Swammerdam, Malpighi, and other anatomists. The first-mentioned illustrious naturalist discovered, by accurate dissections, not only the skins of the larva and of the pupa incased in each other, but within them the very butterfly itself, with its organs indeed in an almost fluid state, but still perfect in all its parts. Of this fact you may convince yourself without Swammerdam's skill, by plunging into vinegar or spirits of wine a caterpillar about to assume the pupa state, and letting it remain there a few days, for the purpose of giving consistency to its parts; or by boiling it in water for a few minutes. A very rough dissection will then enable you to detect the future butterfly; and you will find that the wings, rolled up in a sort of a cord, are lodged between the first and second segment of the caterpillar; that the antennæ and trunk are coiled up in front of the head; and that the legs, however different their form, are actually sheathed in its legs. Malpighi discovered the eggs of the future moth in the chrysalis of the silkworm only a few days old; and Reaumer those of another moth (*Hypogymna dispar*) even in the caterpillar, and that seven or eight days before its change into the pupa. A caterpillar, then, may be regarded as a locomotive egg, having for its embryo the included butterfly, which, after a certain period, assimilates to itself the animal substances by which it is surrounded; has its organs gradually developed; and at length breaks through the shell which encloses it.

"This explanation strips the subject of everything miraculous, yet by no means reduces it to a simple or uninteresting operation. Our reason is confounded at the reflection that a larva, at first not thicker than a thread, includes its own triple, or sometimes octuple teguments; the case of a chrysalis, and a butterfly, all curiously folded into each other; with an apparatus of vessels for breathing and digesting, of nerves for sensation, and of muscles for moving; and that these various forms of existence will undergo their successive evolutions by aid of a few leaves received into its stomach. And still less able are we to comprehend how this organ should at one time be capable of digesting leaves, a another only honey; how one while a silky fluid should be secreted, at another none; or how organs at one period essential to the existence of

the insect, should at another be cast off, and the whole system that supported them vanish."—*Introd. i. 70.*

But, beautiful as are the members of this tribe, and interesting as are their curious changes, a vast amount of the injuries caused by insects to the agriculturist, the forester, the merchant, and even to domestic economy, may fairly be laid to their charge. It is no unusual circumstance for hedges and trees to be entirely stripped of their foliage in spring and early summer, remaining as bare and leafless as in the depth of winter. This mischief is chiefly caused by the caterpillars of several species of moths or butterflies, which occasionally make their appearance in astonishing numbers, and devour every green leaf that falls in their way. Caterpillars of other species also greatly injure living trees, by eating away the internal wood; and in this way they do as much mischief as the grubs of wood-boring beetles previously spoken of. In short, vegetable substances of all descriptions, living and dead, are liable to the attacks of innumerable insect foes, which are by no means confined to the members of the two classes here referred to, since almost every tribe furnishes its contingent to the great army, whose depredations are doubtless permitted for certain wise purposes, not the least important of which is the removal of decaying organic substances.

The care with which insects provide for the safety and well-being of their progeny, whom the majority of them never see, furnishes some of the most curious manifestations of instinct. Most insect parents perish soon after they have deposited their eggs in suitable situations, with, in some cases, a supply of food to be ready for the young the moment they emerge from the egg. This is not, however, the case with all. A species of bug, inhabiting the birch tree, keeps near her eggs, and collects and takes as much care of the young when hatched as a hen does of her chickens. Another insect, perfectly harmless to man personally, though the object of much unfounded dislike, does the same thing; we allude to the earwig, whose proceedings are thus detailed by Mr. Newman:—

"The earwig is one of our most common insects; it is well known to every one, and is very generally an object of unconquerable dislike; the forceps at its tail, and the threatening manner in which these are turned over its back, to pinch any thing of which it is afraid, render it peculiarly dis-

gusting. The fore wings of the earwig are square, short, leathery pieces, which cover but a very small portion of the body: the insect is incapable of folding them in any direction, or of using them as organs of flight. The hind wings are quite different from the fore wings: they are folded into a very small compass, and covered by the fore wings, except a small portion which protrudes from beneath them; and, when examined in this position, appear totally useless as organs of flight. When unfolded, the hind wings are remarkably beautiful; they are of ample size, perfectly transparent, displaying prismatic colours when moved in the light; and are intersected by veins which radiate from near the centre to the margin. The shape of these wings, when fully opened, is nearly that of the human ear; and from this circumstance it seems highly probable that the original name of this insect was ear-wing.

"Earwigs subsist principally on the leaves and flowers of plants, and on fruit; and they are entirely nocturnal insects, retiring by day into dark crevices and corners, where they are screened from observation. The rapidity with which they devour the petals of a flower is remarkable; they clasp the edge of a petal in their fore legs, and, then, stretching out their head as far as possible, bite out a mouthful, then another mouthful nearer, and so on till the head is brought to the fore legs. This mode of eating is exactly that which is practised by the caterpillars of butterflies and moths; the part of a petal or leaf is eaten out in a semi-circular form, and the head is thrust out to the extreme part after every series of mouthfuls. Pinks, carnations, and dahlias very frequently lose all their beauty from the voracity of these insects. When the time of breeding has arrived, which is generally in the autumn, the female retires for protection to the cracks in the bark of old trees, or the interstices of weather boarding, or under heavy stones on the ground; here she commences laying her eggs. The eggs are usually from twenty to fifty in number: when the female has finished laying them, she does not forsake them, as is the habit of other insects, but sits on them, in the manner of a hen, until they are hatched.

"When the little ones leave the shell, they are instantly very perceptibly larger than the eggs which contained them. They precisely resemble the parent in structure and habit, except that they are without wings; they also differ in color, being perfectly white. The care of the mother does not cease with the hatching of the eggs: the young ones run after her wherever she moves, and she continues to sit on them and brood over them with the greatest affection for many days. If the young ones are disturbed or scattered, or if the parent is taken away from them, she will, on the first opportunity, collect them again, and brood over them as carefully as before, allowing them to push her about, and cautiously moving one foot after another, for fear of hurting them. How the young ones are fed until the mother's care has ceased, does not appear to have been ascertained; for it is not until they are nearly half grown that they are seen feeding on vegetables with the rest."—Newman, p. 10.

We can vouch for the accuracy of the above description of the habits of the earwig, having more than once seen the female brooding over her young ones, and pretty little white things they are. We have never seen the common earwig on the wing, but have frequently captured a smaller insect, belonging to a closely allied genus, when in the act of flying; and it is probable that the earwig itself, from the ample size of its wings, is able to take extensive flights. The beauty of the wings will well repay the observer for the little trouble required to unfold them. On the back of the insect, between the second and third pairs of legs, will be seen two little scale-like bodies, lying side by side; these are the fore wings, and if they are carefully lifted up with a pin, the flying wings may be seen beneath them, curiously folded up into the smallest possible compass, and these, by the cautious use of the pin, may be opened out to their full extent. The forceps at the end of the body are said to be used by the earwig in displaying its wings preparatory to taking flight; and this supposition is a very probable one. The prevalent idea, that the earwig is in the habit of entering people's ears, and there doing all sorts of naughty tricks, is entirely without foundation. We believe that its injurious operations are confined to spoiling the florist's choice flowers, and partaking of the gardener's ripest fruits; and that they have not mended their manners in this respect for the last few hundred years, we may infer from a rather amusing passage in old Mouffet's "Theatre of Insects."

"The English women hate them [the earwigs] exceedingly, because of the flowers of clove-gilliflower that they eat and spoil, and they set snares for them thus; they set in the most void places ox-hoofs, hog's-hoofs, or old cast things that are hollow, upon a staff fastened into the ground, and these are easily stuffed with straw; and when by night the savages creep into them to avoid the rain, or hide themselves in the morning, these old cast things, being shook, forth a great multitude fall, and are killed by treading on them."

The beautiful wings of the earwig lead us to make a few remarks upon insect wings in general. In nothing is what Cicero calls "the insatiable variety of Nature" more strikingly manifested than in those beautiful organs of locomotion; and upon their variations Linnæus founded his system of classification, which differs but slightly from that of Aristotle, the first systematist whose

works have come down to our times; and the Linnæan *differences* are certainly no *improvements* upon a mode of classifying insects contrived about two thousand years ago.

A perfect insect is furnished with four wings and six legs; in what must be considered their normal or typical state, the four wings are all of equal size, and all equally capable of being used in flying: these conditions are fulfilled in the typical class, Neuroptera, comprising, among others, the dragon-flies, white ants, Ephemeræ, and Phryganæ before spoken of; the most beautiful members of this group being perhaps the lace-winged flies, one of which, the elegant *Chrysopa perla*, has four very large greenish wings, perfectly transparent, and in texture resembling the finest lace; its body is long and slender, and covered with burnished armour, and its eyes large, prominent, and of a brilliant golden green color. The eggs of this, or a very closely allied species, are very curious objects, greatly resembling in appearance some of the delicate fungi. They are of an oval shape, and greenish white color, each being attached to the twig of lilac, or other tree upon which they are deposited, by means of a white stem about an inch long. These stems or footstalks are formed by the parent attaching a drop of glutinous matter to the twig, and then drawing it out to the full length of her own body, the egg being at the end of it. The larva, like that of the lady-birds, is a determined enemy to Aphides, and after having exhausted of their juices the bodies of those pests, it covers itself with the remains of their bodies.

In the Lepidoptera, or the butterfly and moth tribe, we observe the first indications of a deviation from the normal equality of the two pairs of wings; the hind wings being generally smaller than the fore wings, and of a different form, but all are used in flight. The difference in the size of the fore and hind wings of the Lepidoptera is more marked in the moths than in the butterflies.

In the Hymenoptera, the difference in size of the two pairs of wings become still more striking, the fore wings considerably exceeding the hind ones in development; but still here all are useful as organs of flight. This order comprises the various families of wasps, bees, ichneumons, ants, &c., but not the white ants, or Termites, which are Neuropterous insects. But, it may be asked, how can ants, which have no wings, be classed

with such insects as bees and wasps, in which those organs are present? The truth is, that the perfect ants, both male and female, are amply provided with wings, but these bear a small proportion to the whole number of inhabitants of the ant-hill, the majority of which are wingless workers, and are termed neuters, being most probably sterile females; and, unlike the workers of the white-ant establishments, they have attained their ultimate state of development, whereas those of the white ants are in their larva or first active state. In the following extract from Mr. Newman, all the tenants of an establishment of yellow ants are exhibited in action, preparatory to the founding of fresh colonies.

"In the autumn, we frequently observe one of these hillocks closely covered with a living mass of winged ants, which continue to promenade, as it were, over its entire surface; they mount on every plant in the vicinity of their nest, and the laborers (for now the entire population of the nest has turned out) accompany them as closely as possible, following them to the extreme tip of every blade of grass, and when at length those possessed of wings spread them in preparation for flight, the laborers will often hold them back, as if loath to trust them alone, or desirous of sharing the perils of their trackless course. If the temperature is unfavorable, either from cold or wet, at the period of the grand autumnal production of winged ants, they remain in the nest for several days, until a favorable change in the weather takes place, when the laborers open all the avenues to the exterior, and the winged multitude passes forth at the portals in glittering and iridescent panoply. When the air is warm and still they rise in thousands, and sailing, or rather floating, on the atmosphere, leave for ever the scene of their former existence.

"Myriads of these flying ants, attracted by the brilliant surface of water illumined by an autumnal sun, rush into the fatal current, and are seen no more: myriads are devoured by birds; and but a small proportion of the immense swarm which left the nest escapes, and lives to found new colonies."—Newman, p. 48.

All the winged males quickly perish after pairing, which takes place in the air. The first care of the female, on descending to the ground, is to select a fit spot for the formation of a nest; this being fixed upon, she divests herself of her wings, now not only useless, but an incumbrance; this she does by twisting them about over her back, pulling them off with her feet, or cutting them off with her mandibles. This being accomplished she excavates her future dwelling-place, deposits her eggs, attends upon the

larvæ and pupæ, and performs all the duties of a careful ant-mother, in which she is assisted by workers, if, as is sometimes the case, a few of them should meet with her; otherwise she is herself the solitary and unaided foundress of the new colony.

Amazingly large swarms of ants are sometimes observed in Autumn, and naturally excite the wonder of all unacquainted with the habits of these insects; and even those to whom they are familiar cannot witness without admiration this among other palpable manifestations of instinct-prompted actions, tending to the perpetuation of species.

In the Diptera, or tribe of two-winged flies, the hind wings attain their minimum of development, being reduced, in some orders, to mere little knobs, seated on a short pedicel, one under each perfect wing; and in others even these representatives are so small as to be scarcely perceptible. No more familiar examples of this class can be adduced than gnats, crane flies, and house flies: various species of the latter follow man, and domesticate themselves with him wherever he goes; and many of them in their larva state, are of the greatest service in removing vegetable and animal impurities, which would otherwise accumulate, and become exceedingly offensive.

In the Hemiptera the fore wings begin to yield in importance to the hinder ones, being of a leathery consistence in their basal portions, with the apical part membranaceous; the hind wings are entirely membranous, and are the chief organs of flight. The plant-bugs, to one genus of which order belongs that nocturnal pest, the bed-bug, though destitute of wings, is the typical order of this class, which is separated from the class Orthoptera by certain minute technical characters. In the Orthoptera, the fore wings reach their minimum of development in the order of Forficulites, or earwigs, before mentioned; where they are reduced to little, square, leathery coverings to the hinder wings, which, in these, are alone used in flying, as is also the case with the crickets and mole crickets; in the grasshoppers, locusts, and cockroaches, they are as large as the fore wings, but still partly of the same leathery consistence, and of little use as organs of locomotion.

In the Coleoptera, or beetle tribe, the fore wings completely lose their power of assisting in flight, as well as their membranaceous consistence, being of a hard, crustaceous character, and having for their

only office that of protecting the membranaceous hind wings when not in use, and folded up beneath them. To this class belong the May-bugs, the death-watch, and sexton-beetle before mentioned; the Spanish fly, or blister-beetle, the lady-bird, the glow-worm, and numbers of others, are also members of this class. In some of its orders the wings are only partially or not at all developed; and the genus *Lampyrus*, or glow-worm, affords an example of the female being entirely without wings, while the male appears under the form of a perfect winged beetle. The luminous property of the female is allowed by all naturalists; but even at the present day, though the fact has been again and again stated, some entomologists altogether deny the luminosity of the male; and even among those who are inclined to concede to him the possession of lamps, there are some who state that the lights are visible only while the male is at rest, and that they disappear when he is flying. We are able fully to confirm the testimony of those who state the male glow-worm to be luminous, and also to say with confidence that his light is displayed while on the wing; having, on one occasion, had the pleasure of seeing them in great numbers enter an open window, on a warm, moist, summer evening, and fly towards the candles. They alighted upon the table, on the hand, and on the dress of those near the table; the light of each was perfectly apparent in the form of two or four small specks of light, placed towards the extremity of the abdomen; and when the winged rover darted off into the dark part of the room, the points of light were visible for a considerable distance as he receded from view.

There is one curious peculiarity belonging to the glow-worm which should be mentioned; it is luminous in every stage of its existence; egg, larva, and pupa, all displaying the beautiful radiance although not equally with the perfect insect. This fact tends to cast a doubt upon the hypothesis which would limit the use of the light to the purpose of enabling the male to discover his partner in the dark.

The extensive family of Aphides or plant-lice, offer many peculiarities deserving notice. The various species are some of the greatest pests to which the gardener, the florist, and the farmer are in this country exposed. The species, for the most part, infest each its particular plant; for example, the Aphis of the hop (*Aphis Humuli*) is not

found upon the rose-tree; nor that of the bean (*A. Fabæ*) upon the hop. These plant-lice often appear in immense numbers and overrun extensive districts in an incredibly short time. Like White of Selborne, many a lover of flowers has frequently had to lament the almost instantaneous destruction of his honeysuckles, roses, and other favorite plants; which, "one week the most sweet and lovely objects that the eye could behold, would become the next, the most loathsome, being enveloped in a viscous substance, and loaded with Aphides or smother-flies!"

The extraordinary rapidity with which these insects will sometimes overrun a hop-garden, a rose-garden, a bean-field, or other collection of plants that may happen to suit their purposes, affords considerable countenance to the popular belief that they are wafted through the air by a peculiar haze or "blue mist," attendant upon an east wind; and this is sometimes partially true, so far as the autumnal migrations are concerned, but unfortunately for the popular hypothesis, at that time of the year the direct mischief for the season has been done; the immense swarms of Aphides sometimes seen in autumn, having completed their own share in the work of destruction, have quitted the scene of their former devastations, after depositing the eggs which are to give birth to a fresh brood in the following spring, and most probably quickly perish, though this is a part of their history not yet satisfactorily ascertained. At all events, this seems to agree with facts which have been well established by direct experiment, and with the testimony of authors who have recorded their observations upon the economy of these insects. It is to be regretted that White was not as well acquainted with insects as with birds, or he would most likely have left us some valuable information upon the economy of these "smother-flies." A passage in his "Natural History of Selborne," well describes the immense numbers of Aphides occasionally seen on the wing in their autumnal shifting of quarters; and the date pretty nearly agrees with Professor Rennie's observation, that he had remarked for several successive years that the hop-flies disappear soon after Midsummer, though the leaves had been literally covered with them only a few days previously. White says:—

"At about three o'clock in the afternoon of this

day [August 1st, 1785], which was very hot, the people of this village [Selborne] were surprised by a swarm of Aphides, or smother-flies, which fell in these parts. Those that were walking in the street at that juncture found themselves covered with these insects, which settled also on the hedges and gardens, blackening all the vegetables where they alighted. My annuals were discolored with them, and the stalks of a bed of onions were quite coated over for six days after. These armies were then, no doubt, in a state of migration, and shifting their quarters; and might have come, as far as we know, from the great hop plantations of Kent or Sussex, the wind being all that day in the easterly quarter. They were observed at the same time in great clouds about Farnham, and all along the lane from Farnham to Alton."—Letter 53, to Barrington.

Mr. Kirby also records the annoyance to which he was subjected later in the year by coming in contact with one of these migrant armies in the Isle of Ely; they flew into his eyes, mouth, and nostrils, and completely covered his dress. Similar appearances have not unfrequently been mentioned in the newspapers.

Like the winged ants before spoken of, it is these winged Aphides which are the founders of new colonies, by depositing their eggs in places adapted for their reception; but unlike the ants, the parent Aphides take no further note of their eggs.

The wonder naturally excited by the almost instantaneous appearance of large swarms of Aphides, will, in great measure, be dissipated, when it is recollected that they are endowed with an amazing fecundity. The rapidity of their production is indeed enormous; nine generations may descend from a single Aphis in the course of three months—this has been proved by experiment—and each generation has been said to average one hundred individuals; so that Réaumur's calculation, that a single female may be the progenitor of 5,904,900,000 descendants during her own life, large as the number is, is probably within the mark. Professor Rennie says that he has counted upwards of a thousand Aphides at a time upon a single hop-leaf; supposing, therefore, each of the thousand to be capable of producing the number of descendants mentioned by Réaumur, we need not resort to the popular belief in the blight-producing property of the east wind to account for the rapidity with which a hop-garden is frequently overrun with a pest, against whose ravages no adequate protection has yet been discovered.

Whatever degree of qualification we may feel inclined to apply to the statements of

the rates of increase of Aphides, it is undeniable that they do multiply with extreme rapidity, and their production is attended with circumstances which have no exact parallel in the animal kingdom. Certain two-winged-flies are viviparous, that is, instead of depositing eggs, according to the general law obtaining among insects, their young ones are produced alive, in the form of larvæ or pupæ; but whether eggs are deposited, or living young brought forth, neither mode of increase takes place until the parent flies have paired. Aphides, on the contrary, at certain times of the year, are endowed with the remarkable faculty of producing living young without having previously paired; and this is not confined to the original parent, but is also shared by the descendants for several generations. Bonnet, a French naturalist, took the precaution to isolate some of the first-hatched wingless females of the *Aphis* inhabiting the oak tree, as soon as they were excluded from the egg, and he found, that in the course of three months, nine generations were successively produced in this way, although care was taken that no males should have access to the females. Towards autumn, however, the power of giving birth to a living progeny is lost, and eggs are deposited in the usual way, after pairing, no doubt because they are better adapted to withstand the rigors of winter than living individuals would be: and from these eggs the race is renewed in the following spring.

An accurate observer before quoted, who, under the pseudonyme of *Rusticus*,* used to publish some extremely lively and pleasing descriptions of the every-day proceedings of animals, in a letter on "blights," details the mode of production of Aphides in the following words:—

"I have taken a good deal of pains to find out the birth and parentage of true blights; and for this purpose have watched, day after day, the colonies of them in my own garden, and single ones which I have kept in-doors, and under tumblers turned upside down; the increase is prodigious; it beats everything of the kind that I have ever seen, heard, or read of. Insects in general come from an egg,—then turn to a caterpillar, which does nothing but eat,—then to a chrysalis, which does nothing but sleep,—then to a perfect beetle or fly, which does nothing but increase its kind. But blights

proceed altogether on another system; the young ones are born exactly like the old ones, but less; they stick their beaks through the rind, and begin drawing sap when only a day old, and go on quietly sucking away for days; and then, all at once, without love, courtship, or matrimony, each individual begins bringing forth young ones, and continues to do so for months, at the rate of from a dozen to eighteen every day, and yet continues to increase in size all the while; there seem to be no males, no drones,—all bring forth alike. Early in the year these blights are scattered along the stems, but as soon as the little ones come to light, and commence sap-sucking close to their mother, the spaces get filled up, and the old ones look like giants among the rest,—as here and there an ox in a flock of sheep,—when all the spare room is filled up, and the stalk completely covered. The young ones, on making their first appearance in the world, seem rather posed as to what to be at, and stand quietly on the backs of the others for an hour or so; then, as if having made up their minds, they toddle upwards, walking on the backs of the whole flock till they arrive at the upper end of the shoot, and then settle themselves quietly down, as close as possible to the outermost of their friends, and then commence sap-sucking like the rest; the flock by this means extends in length every day, and at last the growing shoot is overtaken by their multitude, and completely covered to the very tip. Towards autumn, however, the blights undergo a change in their nature, their feet stick close to the rind, their skin opens along the back, and a winged blight comes out—the summer generations being generally wingless. These are male and female, and fly about and enjoy themselves; and, what seems scarcely credible, the winged females lay eggs, and whilst this operation is going on, a solitary, winged blight may be observed on the under-side of the leaves, or on the young shoots, particularly on the hop, and differing from all its own progeny in being winged and nearly black, whereas its progeny are green and without wings. These are mysteries which I leave you entomologists to explain. In May, a fly lays a lot of eggs; these eggs hatch and become blights; these blights are viviparous, and that without the usual union of the sexes, and so are their children and grandchildren,—the number of births depending solely on the quantity and quality of their food; at last, as winter approaches, the whole generation, or series of generations, assumes wings, which the parents did not possess, undergoes frequently a change in color, and in the spring, instead of being viviparous, lays eggs."—*Letters of Rusticus*, p. 67.

To the singular tribe of blights we are now treating on belongs the hop-fly,—an insect, which, as *Rusticus* well says, "has more rule over the pockets and tempers of mankind, than any other; its abundance or scarcity being the almost only criterion of a scarcity or abundance in the crops of hops." It is scarcely necessary to allude to the speculative operations which arise from this

* We are happy to learn that the delightful papers on Natural History by *Rusticus* have been collected, and are now being printed in a handsome volume (with illustrations), from which we have been kindly allowed to make some quotations.

cause. Rusticus contrasts the amount of duty paid in 1802, with that paid in 1825 and 1826. The former year was favorable to the increase of the hop-fly, and the duty paid was £15,463, 10s. 5d. The fluctuation of the years 1825 and 1826 are so curious, that we quote the passage :—

“In 1825, the duty commenced at 130,000*l.*, but, owing to the excessive increase of the fly, had, in July, fallen to 16,000*l.*; at the beginning of September, it rose to 29,000*l.*; but towards the end fell again to 22,000*l.*; the amount paid was 24,317*l.* 0s. 11d. In the following year the summer was remarkably dry and hot; we could hardly sleep of nights with the sheets on; the thermometer for several nights continued above 70 degrees all the night through: the crop of hops was immense, scarcely a fly was to be found, and the betted duty, which began in May at 120,000*l.*, rose to 265,000*l.*; the old duty actually paid was 269,331*l.* 0s. 9d.; the gross duty, 468,401*l.* 16s. 1d., being the largest amount ever known. From this it will appear that, in duty alone, a little insignificant-looking-fly has control over 450,000*l.* annual income to the British Treasury; and, supposing the hop-grounds of England capable of paying this duty annually, which they certainly are, it is very manifest, that in 1825, these creatures were the means of robbing the treasury of 426,000*l.* This seems a large sum, but it is not one-twentieth part of the sums gained and lost by dealers during the two years in question.”—Letters, p. 75.

Rusticus, in the following passage, describes some of the curious effects of the attacks of *blights*, or *Aphides*, upon the plants infested by them.

“All blights infest the young and juicy shoots, and leaves of plants, for the purpose of sap-sucking, and the plants honored by their operations forthwith play the most amusing and incredible vagaries; bearing blossoms instead of leaves, leaves instead of blossoms; twisting into corkscrews stems which ought to be straight, and making straight as sticks those which, as the scarlet runner and hop, ought to twine; sometimes, as in the peach, making the leaves hump up in the middle, and causing the tree to look as though it had a famous crop of young fruit; making apple-trees bear blossoms on their roots, and causing roots to grow out of their young shoots; and by tormenting orchards in this way, preventing the fruit from ripening, and making it woolly, tasteless, and without juice. It is amusing to see with what regularity the blights station themselves on the young shoots of the guelder-rose, crowding so close together, that not a morsel of the rind is to be seen, and not unfrequently forming a double tier, or two thicknesses; the poor sprig losing its formal, unbending, upright position, and writhing itself into strange contortions.”—Letters, p. 66.

Independently of the direct injuries to

plants arising from the sap-sucking propensities of *Aphides*, there is another effect produced by them, by which all the old naturalists were exceedingly puzzled. Even White could not account for the “viscous substance” which enveloped his honeysuckles, otherwise than by supposing “that in hot weather, the effluvia of flowers in fields and meadows and gardens, are drawn up in the day by a brisk evaporation, and then in the night fall down again with the dews, in which they are entangled;” an hypothesis as tenable as that of Pliny, who hesitated whether he should call *honey-dew*, the substance alluded to, “the sweat of the heavens, the saliva of the stars, or the liquid produced by the purgation of the air.” Trees and other plants are sometimes greatly disfigured by the quantity of this sweet clammy substance, which not only gives them an unsightly appearance, but prevents the leaves from performing their proper functions. Much has been written upon honey-dew and its origin; some authors have described it as “a peculiar haze or mist, loaded with a poisonous miasm,” by which the leaves are stimulated to the morbid secretion of a saccharine and viscid juice; others have ascribed it to electrical causes; and others, again, have believed it to be produced by the leaves of plants, in consequence of their roots being attacked by insects. The truth is, however, that honey-dew is a peculiar syrupy fluid, secreted by *Aphides*, and expelled from their bodies through two short tubes placed on their back. That this is its true origin has been well ascertained. It never occurs on plants on which the *Aphides* are not present at the same time, or which have not been recently infested by them; it is always deposited on the upper side of the leaf; and the insects may be actually observed in the act of expelling it from their tubes. On one occasion we saw this honey-dew falling in such quantities from a cherry-tree trained against a wall, and standing at the proper angle with regard to the sun, that a beautiful little *Iris* was formed in the shower, with all the proper colors, just as a similar bow may be produced at will by directing a stream of water from a garden-engine against a wall, so as to form a fine spray, opposite the sun. Mr. Robt. Patterson, in his delightful little book on “The Natural History of the Insects mentioned in Shakspeare’s Plays,” relates a circumstance which fell under his own observation. He says,—

"On a fine day, in the month of September, 1829, when I was visiting the beautiful demesne of Lord Annesley, at Castle-wellan, I noticed a holly-tree, on which a number of wasps were continually alighting, running rapidly over its leaves, and flitting from branch to branch. A number of holly-trees were scattered over the lawn; but not one exhibited the same exhilarating bustle. I sat down beside it, to endeavor to ascertain what peculiar attraction this tree possessed, and soon found that the wasps were not its only visitors. A number of ants were plodding quietly along the twigs and leaves, exhibiting by their staid and regular deportment, a singular contrast to the rapid and vascillating movements of the wasps. I now discovered, that both ants and wasps were attracted by a substance which was plentifully sprinkled over all the leaves,—the celebrated honey dew of the poets. This substance is a secretion deposited by a small insect, which is green upon the rose-tree, and black upon the wood-bine, and which entomologists distinguish by the generic name of Aphis. The liquid they deposit is perfectly pure, and rivals either sugar or honey in its sweetness. The ants not only suck it up with eagerness, whenever it can be found, but they possess the art of making the Aphides yield it by patting them gently with their antennæ; and one particular species of ant is said to confine the Aphides in apartments constructed solely for that purpose, to supply them with food, to protect them from danger, and to take, in every respect, as much care of them as we should do of our milch-cattle."—p. 144.

Strange and almost incredible as this proceeding on the part of the ants may appear, it has been fully verified by accurate observers. One little extract from Rusticus may be quoted in reference to the connexion of the ants and Aphides, as well as to show the kind of enemies the latter are exposed to.

"You will never find a plant of any kind infested with the Aphis, without also observing a number of ants and lady-birds among them, and also a queer-looking insect, like a fat lizard, which is, in fact, the caterpillar of the lady-bird. The connexion of the ants and the Aphis is of the most peaceful kind that can be conceived; their object is the honey-dew which the Aphis emits; and, far from hurting the animal which affords them this pleasant food, they show it the greatest possible attention and kindness,—licking it all over with their little tongues, and fondling it, and patting it, and caressing it with their antennæ in the kindest, prettiest way imaginable: not so the lady-bird, or its lizard-like caterpillar; these feed on the blights most voraciously, a single grub clearing a leaf, on which were forty or more, in the course of a day. The perfect lady-bird is a decided enemy to them, but not so formidable a one as the grub. The eggs of the lady-bird may often be seen on the hop-leaf; they are yellow, and five or six in a cluster placed on

their ends; these should on no account be destroyed, as is too often the case, but, on the contrary, every encouragement should be given to so decided a friend to the hop-grower.

"Besides the lady-bird and its grub, there are two other terrible enemies to the poor Aphis; one of these is a green, ungainly-looking grub, without legs, which lies flat on the surface of the leaf, and stretches out his neck, just like a leech, till it touches one of them; directly he feels one he seizes it in his teeth, and holds it up, wriggling in the air, till he has sucked all the goodness out of it, and left a mere empty skin. This curious creature turns to a fly which has a body banded with different colors, and which in summer you may often observe under trees and about flowers, standing quite still in the air as though asleep, yet if you try to catch him, darting off like an arrow. The other has six legs, and very large, strong, curved jaws, and is a most ferocious-looking fellow, strutting about with the skins of the blights which he has killed on his back. This fierce fellow comes to a very beautiful fly, with four wings, all divided into meshes, like a net, and two beautiful golden eyes. All these creatures which thus live on the plant-lice, have a very strong and disagreeable smell in the perfect state."—Letters of Rusticus, p. 77.

We must borrow one quotation from the Episodes, showing the equanimity with which the Aphides sustain the attacks of their insect foes.

"Let us conclude our 'Article on Aphides' with a few distinguishing traits of their personal character and peculiar physiology. 'Character! (say you) what scope for the display of character in a little denizen whose world is comprised in a single leaf or flower-bud—who is born but to eat and be eaten?' Why, it is with reference to the latter point, that very law of its existence which condemns it to be eaten, that our little Aphis exhibits a notable pattern in the virtue of passive endurance and submission to the degrees of fate. Never did Turk bend his neck to the bow-string, or rush upon the scimitar with more perfect composure and *nonchalance*, than does our lamb of the leaf submit itself to the murderous jaws of its lion-like or wolf-like destroyers, seeming perfectly at ease, and enjoying life to the last bite or sup, while its merciless slaughterers are heaping up carcasses around. One of their devourers, indeed, the grub or larva before mentioned of the lace-winged fly, seems to play the part of a wolf in sheep's clothing, dressing itself up in the skins of the slain; but as the composure of the Aphis flock appears equally undisturbed where no such disguise is put on, it would be unfair to suppose they are deceived into philosophy. 'But perhaps (say you) they are not aware of the presence of their enemies.' Possibly not; but yet they seem to have the same organs of perception as other victimized insects, which, under the same circumstances, generally testify alarm, and make vigorous efforts to escape."

And here we must conclude our imperfect and superficial view of an inexhaustible subject. It was our intention to have brought upon the stage other performers, and to have exhibited them in other scenes equally wonderful with those described; we had also prepared some elaborate remarks upon classification and system, intending that the scientific should have followed the popular as a sort of make-weight: but alas!

"The best laid schemes o' mice an' men
Gang aft a-gley."

We have already exceeded our limits, and must here finish our attempts to show that the meanest insect possesses claims to consideration which only require to be seen and understood to be universally acknowledged.

From the New Monthly Magazine.

A VISIT TO THE BATTLE-FIELDS OF CRESSY AND AGINCOURT.

IN LETTERS ADDRESSED TO H. P. SMITH, ESQ.

By H. L. LONG, Esq.

LETTER IV.

[Continued from the November Number.]

TOWARDS the end of the month of August, in our latitudes, the sun sets about seven o'clock, and twilight ceases soon after nine. There could have been no moonlight to prolong the slaughter. The battle ended about the hour of vespers; just at its conclusion, Philip, who was in the rear guard, inquiring how the combat was going on, was answered by John of Hainault, that his army was totally beaten, and that all was lost—we are told that in an agony of desperation and fury "il poussa son cheval des éperons pour la lancer dans le mêlée;" but the advice, entreaties, and main force of Hainault, Montmorency, and some few others who were left near his person, succeeded in withdrawing him from the conflict. His conduct reminds us of other instances, when sovereigns have been driven to distraction at the fortune of the day declaring against them.

Napoleon at Waterloo "décidé à mourir, il pousse son cheval pour le faire entrer dans les rangs. 'Ah! sire, s'écrie le Maréchal Soult, en saisissant la bride, les ennemis ne sont-ils pas déjà assez heureux.' Napoléon résiste, le maréchal et les généraux redoublent d'efforts, et parviennent à l'entraîner sur la route de genape."—(Vaulabelle.) But the battle of Bannockburn must have been as fresh in the minds of most of the combatants at Cressy, as is that of Waterloo to those of the present

generation, and at Bannockburn, by the caprice of fortune, the father himself of the now victorious Edward, had been placed in the identical position of the French monarch.

Oh! give their hapless prince his due—
In vain the royal Edward threw
His person 'mid the spears—
Cried "fight," to terror and despair,
Menac'd, and wept, and tore his hair,
And curs'd their caitiff fears,
Till Pembroke turn'd his bridle-rein,
And forc'd him from the fatal plain.

Edward II. fled to the castle of Stirling for a short halt, and Philip, on quitting his fatal plain, took the road to that of Labroye.

Do you remember with what eagerness we sought for the broken flint arrow heads of the Persian archers on the barrow of the Greeks at Marathon? and how successfully our search was rewarded? Not with less alacrity, but with no such good luck, did I inquire at Cressy for some relic of the battle; nothing whatever could even be heard of as having ever been known to exist, until a shepherd, feeding his flock near the cross of the King of Bohemia told me he believed that M. Payard, of Estrées, was possessed of some object which had been discovered upon the field. To M. Payard I accordingly went—he is an agriculturist, on rather a large scale, and uses a portion at least of the soil of the field of battle in the

Vallée des Clercs. Madame Payard only was at home, and not being much acquainted with such matters, she referred me to her uncle, in an adjoining house. Here the scent grew hot, and our expectations rose proportionably. The venerable old gentleman to whom I was introduced, assured me that such an object had existed, that he believed it still existed—that it could not be considered as lost—but alas! that it was, if anywhere, in some granary among a quantity of other things, and for the moment inaccessible. He described it as a sort of small circlet of bronze, surmounted with what appeared to be four fleurs-de-lys. He imagined it might have been the socket of a standard; others had been found with it, and had excited considerable attention, but he knew not what had become of them. He mentioned also the discovery of a skeleton upon the plain, which had evidently been interred with more than common care; it was by itself, and extended at full length, with its limbs disposed with a due regard to funeral arrangement, betokening the remains of some person of sufficient distinction to be honored with a sepulture apart from the fosses which had received indiscriminately the humbler victims of the day.

This old gentleman alluded to the cannon in the Tower of London. The *Journal des Debats* in November, 1841, noticed “Un des canons tres curieux dont les Anglais firent usage à Crécy, et qui était conservé à la Tour de Londres, fut retrouvé presque entier parmi les décombres, après l’incendie de cette tour en 1841.” I strongly urged upon him the preservation of his bronze relic, if it could be ever recovered. Nothing, in fact at all coeval with the battle remains at Cressy, if we except the windmill at Edward’s position, and the monumental cross of the King of Bohemia; which two landmarks, at an interval of about 2000 paces, serve admirably to demonstrate the limits of the scene of action. This cross of John of Luxemburg, I firmly believe to be genuine, and to have been erected within a short period of his glorious death. We did not fail to visit and examine it. It stands upon a square base by the side of the road which witnessed the advance of the French army, and it has recently been restored to the pedestal from which it had fallen, at the expense of some amateur, who deserves well at the hands of all those who are interested in the preservation of ancient memorials.

Tradition says, indeed, that it originally stood some five-and-twenty paces further in the field, and that the occupier of the soil, upon finding it constantly interfering with the cultivation, removed it to its present position. This simple stone, in its lonely situation among the open fields, the record of a great and affecting event, covered with its sombre lichen, and fortunately quite free from the chippings of relic-hunters, perhaps from lack of visitors, produces somewhat of a melancholy impression—not diminished by its appearing to be the nightly haunt of the screech owl, as I discovered by observing a disgorged pellet of that bird deposited on the summit. We would not so much as detach a morsel of its venerable lichen to get an insight into the nature of the stone, but as well as I could make out, it seemed to be the calcareous travertino, of which masses are seen in the Roman Pharos in Dover Castle, and of which many pieces, probably re-used from former Roman buildings, were brought to light in excavating the foundations of the Priory church at Dover. I am at present ignorant of the quarry where this peculiar stone could have been obtained—but it seems to have attracted the notice of the Romans sufficiently to have induced them to bring it over for their buildings in Britain, as we did, and do now again, import that of Caen. Brave old John of Luxemburg! of all the bold spirits who bequeathed their bodies to the field of Cressy, disdaining to inhabit them in defeat and disgrace, his was the most gallant, and its departure the most romantic. The blind old monarch at the close of the day ordered Le Moine de Basèle to take the bridle of his horse and lead him into the fray, so that he might strike one stroke with his sword. Basèle obeyed, and they both fell, together with his squires Henry de Rosenberg and John of Leuestenberg. On the morrow of the battle they were found lying on the field, with their horses tied all firmly together. The well known anecdote of the “prince’s plume” is thus narrated by M. Louandre,—“Le monarque Anglais, ne se réserva des riches dépouilles du Prince Allemand qui deux (trois?) plumes d’autruche, nouées avec une tresse d’or, qui surmontait son casque, et la devise tudesque *ich dien* (je sers) qu’on y avait gravée. Edouard donna ce panache à son fils pour le récompenser des exploits de la veille. Les successeurs du Prince de Galles, en mémoire de cette grande journée, ont toujours conservé les

plumes et la devise, et en decorent leurs armoiries." The same authority informs us that the remains of the King of Bohemia were deposited in a chapel of the Abbey of Valloires, where as lately as in the last century the following inscription was visible :

L'an mil quarante-six trois cents,
Comme la chronique tes-moigne,
Fut apporté et mis céans
Jean Luxembourg, roi de Behaigne.

This, however, does not accord with the Amiens' MS. which buries him at Maintenay, nor with what I have read in "Bertholet's History of Luxemburg." It is there stated that John, by his will, had ordered his body to be interred in the Abbey of Clairefontaine—but it was destined to be as disturbed in death as it had been during his adventurous life. The monks of Valloires might have prided themselves on possessing his remains. Cressy Grange was an estate belonging to their monastery, and there Edward placed many of the wounded, entrusting them to the skill in leechcraft of the holy fathers. It is, also, certain, that to the pious hands of the same reverend fraternity were committed for interment the bodies of the most illustrious of the slain. If John of Luxemburg was one of them, he did not long repose within the precincts of the Abbey of Valloires. The "History of Luxemburg" states that Edward himself caused the remains to be transported to Luxemburg—whether or not that was the case, it is certain they were transferred to that capital, and buried in the church of Munster; on the destruction of that monastery in 1542, the remains were removed to the Cordeliers, and there kept carelessly in a wooden chest. In 1572, the Abbey of Munster was rebuilt, and the body of John, replaced in its church, found rest for a time in a superb mausoleum erected by the Archduke Albert, and inscribed with this epitaph :—

Johannes Rex Bohemiarum
Comes Luxemburgensis
Henrici VII. Imperatoris Filius
Caroli IV. Imperatoris Pater
Wenceslai et Sigismundi Imperatorum avus
Princeps animo maximus
Sed uno corporis vitis infelicio, quod cæcus :
In Britannos auxilia pro Rege affini ducens
Prælio Cressiano cecidit.
Acie disruptâ, rebusque desperatis in victores irruit,
Et cum non videret hostem, periit,
Non pugnando tantum, sed occumbendo
Fortis.
CLO CCC XLVI. IX Kalend. Septemb.

Tantum Heroem
Jacere sine Epitaphio
Magnus Belgarum Princeps Albertus
non passus,
Liberalitate et munificentia sua
'Monumentum hoc fieri curavit,
Et iniquæ sortis, et invictæ virtutis memoriam
Æternitati commendavit.
CLO LD CXIII.

This eternity was of very brief duration—a spell hung over the ashes of the hero, and war again brought him to the surface, rousing him from his repose as if he had been only sleeping. When the French laid siege to Luxemburg in 1684, the Prince de Chimay, the governor, caused the lower town to be burnt, to deprive them of all means of retreat. The church of Munster was then destroyed, and with it the magnificent mausoleum of John of Luxemburg, which had been erected at the cost of 17,000 florins. The body was saved, and deposited in the refugium of the abbey until the restoration of the monastery, when it was again inhumed in the church behind the high altar. Rumet reports that the armorial bearings of fifty cavaliers, who perished with him at Cressy, were to be seen around his tomb; but his vicissitudes were by no means at an end. During the profanations of the French revolution the sacred relics of the King of Bohemia did not escape; they were torn a fourth time from the sepulchre, and found their way to Mettlock, near Treves, where they were preserved in the curiosity-cabinet of a rich manufacturer of earthenware, M. Bock-Buchman, the father of Madame Nothomb, wife of the distinguished Belgian statesman; nor is this all,—the last account of these restless "restes," is to be extracted from *La Presse* of the 27th of July, 1844. "Les restes de Jean de Bohême sont aujourd'hui dans le palais du roi de Prusse, sur les bords du Saar, en attendant que la ville de Luxemburg lui ait élevé un monument digne de son aventureux héroïsme." This is, indeed a formidable episode with which I have indulged you, but having collected from various sources a tolerably connected account of all the post-mortem adventures of this remarkable hero, I thought them too curious to be omitted. The purple of three kings exalted the glory of the standards of Philip. The king of the island of Majorca, even in the most prosperous circumstances, does not seem likely to have been a sovereign of a very extended sway. Whatever were his dominions he had been expelled from them, and dethroned.

ed by Dom Pedro, king of Aragon. Having little to lose he might as well have sought for "six feet of French soil" and died, like John, the death of a hero; he appears to have escaped, as well as Charles of Bohemia, John's son, the king of the Romans elect, and already designated by the royal title. Froissart seems to speak rather contemptuously of him; "the Lord Charles of Bohemia departed, and I do not well know what road he took." Other accounts describe him as having been dangerously wounded.

Among the mutabilities of the "*graves principum amicitiae et irae*," we find an instance in the Emperor Sigismund, John's grandson. He quitted the French party, and despite the enmity of their grandsires, he and Harry the Fifth of England became allies. It is true that Duke Humphrey of Gloucester, the king's brother, and others, rushed with drawn swords into the water at Dover, and declared "if he came to enter as an emperor into a land claimed to be under his empire, then were they ready to resist him;" they seemed to have had some vague apprehension of the claims of the successors of the Cæsars to universal dominion. But this matter was satisfactorily adjusted, and Sigismund, an honored guest at Windsor, was invested with the order of the garter: the very order, according to some authorities, which was instituted to commemorate the victory where his grandfather had fallen.

M. Louandre is one of those who refers the origin of this glorious knighthood to the triumph of Cressy;—"Un fait important," he says, "et la création de l'Orare de la Jarrettière institué par Edouard au commencement de 1349, à Windsor, dans l'Eglise de St. George, en commémoration de son étonnant triomphe, et pour récompenser ceux de ses officiers qui l'avait le mieux seconde. Le héros de Cressy manifeste clairement le but de sa fondation en prenant pour insigne une Jarrettière, dont il avait donné le mot, gallois *garter* mot de ralliement le jour de la bataille. L'opinion que ce fut la Comtesse de Salisbury qui donna naissance à cette ordre célèbre n'est appuyée sur aucune autorité ancienne, et tous les historiens Anglais eux-mêmes la repoussent comme un conte vulgaire."

Charles, Duke d'Alençon, whose insensate attack upon his unfortunate Genoese was a prominent cause of his disasters, was one of the slain; his body was sent to Amiens; that of the Count of Flanders

was buried with those of many other victims in the church of Cressy, and Edward himself and the Prince of Wales attended the ceremony with great state. The Comte d'Harcourt, the brother of Edward's Marshall, fell during the action, "Le corps de ce chevalier, dont le casque avait pour cimier la queue d'un paon mée d'or, fut reconnu par son frère Geoffroy d'Harcourt. Le cri de sa maison: Harcourt! Harcourt! que ce dernier avait entendu pendant la bataille l'avait saisi de douleur et de remords. L'aspect de ce corps sanglant le fit frémir d'horreur; il vint se jeter aux pieds de Philippe, l'écharpe au cou en guise de corde, témoignant ainsi qu'il se devouait in même au plus infâme supplice, et il obtint le pardon de sa perfidie," so says a note of M. Louandre's; but Harcourt continued a trusted and trusty adherent of Edward, was present at the victory of Poitiers, and ended by being slain in his service.

It was not without reluctance that we left this interesting ground, and soon after passing Estrées-les-Cressy, we recovered the main post road from Abbeville to St. Omer. We soon after commenced the descent into the valley of the Authie, and on passing the bridge over that river we found ourselves at La Broye. The road makes a detour to the left, we accordingly quitted the carriage, and took the old straight road up the hill, passing under the apse of the curious ancient chalk church, which must have witnessed the flying Philip, spurring his horse furiously by its walls, at a late hour in the night after the battle. We ascended to the site of the Château de la Broye,—all the masonry is down, but the fosses and ramparts, covered with coppice-wood and carpeted with violets and primroses, marked out the lines which the fortress had originally occupied on the brow of the hill. Its situation is agreeable, and presents on the eastern side a pleasing view up the valley of the Authie. A peasant or two live within the area, and occasionally, in cultivating their little gardens, meet with some old coin current in the days when the castle flourished. They had preserved one or two somewhere, and their inability to lay their hands upon them was rather disappointing, for I was not without hope of reading the legend of EDWARDS REX—MONETA PONTIV:—and of becoming possessor of a specimen of the rare coinage of Edward I., which, as Comte de Ponthieu, he struck at the mint of Abbeville. A fragment of very strange pottery was all that their search

produced. A road passes through the area of the castle, entering it probably at the very spot where formerly stood the gate at which the discomfited Philip demanded admittance;—the Seigneur, Jean Lessopier, “dit *Grand Camp*, se tenait aux crénaux: Hommes d’armes, qui êtes vous? demandait-il, si vous ne servez monseigneur de Valois, vous n’entrerez point dans mon château.”—“Ouvrez,” repondit Philippe, “c’est l’a fortune ne la France!”—an answer not unlike the exclamation of Hannibal at the sight of the gory head of his brother Asdrubal after the battle of the Metaurus,—“*Agnoscere se fortunam Carthaginis, fertur dixisse.*” Nevertheless, Philip’s answer to the Chatelain has been disputed, and M. Louandre has altered it into—“c’est l’infortuné Roi de France,” as being “sens plus naturel que l’autre,” but I prefer the old text of Froissart; it was more natural to the proud Philip, even in his misfortunes, to shrink from acknowledging himself as unfortunate; and he left Lessopier to draw from the words “la fortune de la France” whatever conclusions he might have thought proper.

In our onward progress towards Hesdin, we passed over the high land between the waters of the Authie and those of the Canche. From this open elevated country the eye easily explores the neighborhood of both Cressy on the south, and Agincourt on the north, and, if I don’t mistake, the high land also between Montreuil and Samer to the westward, which is within ken of the lofty cliffs near Folkstone. So near do these famous battle-fields lie together, and so little removed are they from the range of vision from England itself.

Hesdin is situated in the valley, at the confluence of the Ternoise with the Canche. But Vieux Hesden stood higher up, on the bank of the latter river, on the southern slope of the hill which forms the tongue of land between the two streams. We saw the white “masures,” the ruins of the old castle, shining in the evening sun, as we descended towards Hesdin. In the year succeeding the battle of Cressy, Philip de Valois was received at the Castle of Vieux Hesdin, on his way towards Calais with a numerous body of troops, and a letter of his, dated from this castle, to the inhabitants of Abbeville is still in existence. St. Remy speaks of the park of Hesdin as one of the most beautiful in the kingdom; but that has long been disparked; all the hill is under cultivation, and except a grove of

trees crowning the summit and surrounding the steeple of the village of “Le Parc,” there is nothing which presents to our imagination any vestige of its former forestial beauties.

THE REWARDS OF GREATNESS.—“Truly it is a fine thing to have served England,” exclaims a modern writer, after expatiating on the beauties of Blenheim and Strathfieldsaye. Musing on these words, I strolled out one evening, and found myself standing by the grave of Dalton. There rest, thought I, the remains of a man who has served, not only England, but the whole world; and what has been his reward? For the greater part of his life, he was compelled to support himself by teaching the elements of mathematics, thus curtailing his time for original research. And now, in death, a piece of Rochdale flagstone, without even an inscription, is all that England can offer to the memory of departed genius. Dalton’s services to his country have not been over-paid. But this, perhaps, is the exception. That long succession of poets and philosophers, who have made us the wonder and envy of the world, whose thoughts are even now moving among the people to purify and elevate, surely they have not all failed to receive that honor at home which even strangers are forced to accord them? Certainly, if we search Westminster Abbey, we shall find a few tablets and busts erected to their memories half hidden, to be sure, amongst the gorgeous and emblazoned tombs of Major-General Longears, the man-slayer, Sir Harry Empty, the sportsman, and Alderman Yellowtrash, the stock-broker. And even these poor apologies for monuments can only be seen for a consideration, duly handed over to a clerical showman. Nowhere do we find any open public memorial of our most illustrious men; there is nothing to remind the stranger that he treads the land of Shakespeare, of Bacon, of Milton, of Davy. There is nothing to point out to aspiring youth the path to genuine, to godlike honor.—[From the *Midland Progressionist*, a penny serial, conducted by working men.]

A GREAT UNKNOWN.—Some curiosity has been excited in our musical circles (Paris) by the report of the approaching visit of a new singer from Russia. She is said to have a most extraordinary compass of voice, combining the most tender and agile soprano with the lowest barytone. No one has, hitherto, been able to discover who she is, or what the country which has given her birth. She has sung at the Court of Naples, and before the Emperor of Russia: in both cases, however, stipulating to preserve her features concealed by a mask. It is thus that she insists upon appearing before the public. By some she is believed to be a noble Russian lady, who had been for years confined in durance vile by her husband, who has married again; by others that she is an Italian nun, escaped from a religious life to get a peep at this wicked world. Others have declared again, that, although her arms and bosom are of the most snowy whiteness, her face and head are those of a negress of Senegambia, which belief is confirmed by her persistence in wearing the domino hood, which conceals even the very form of her head and throat from observation. In England, she will immediately be suspected of being no other than the pig-faced lady. She persists in signing no other name to her engagements than that of *La Mascherata*, by which she is already famous in many parts of Italy.—*Atlas*.

From the Westminster Review.

THE FRENCH REPUBLIC.

1. *Le National*.
2. *Le Journal des Economistes*. Gilliaumin.
3. *Le Rapport de la Commission d'Enquête sur les événements de Mai et de Juillet*.
4. *Three Months in Power*. By M. de Lamartine. H. Bohn.

THE shifting scenes and convulsive struggles of the new French Republic, as yet scarcely assured of its existence, form a series of important political lessons, by which, if understood, this country might greatly benefit; but we find them so misinterpreted by the press, that we fear little benefit will be derived from them by either the rulers or the people of Great Britain and Ireland. It appears to be with nations as with individuals—easily led to draw false conclusions from the experience of others, and who profit only by their own.

The report of the committee of the National Assembly appointed to inquire into the causes of the insurrections of May and June, has enabled the English ministerial and conservative press to read many homilies to the public on the kind of men by whom violent revolutions are made;—described as reckless desperadoes, actuated by sordid and selfish objects, and with nothing about them common to humanity but its outward forms.

Admitted—if only from the evidence of criminal returns—that a criminal population exists, and that men of blood are certain to find employment where blood has to be shed, it is yet not true (and it is important the error should be exposed) that revolutions are the work of this pariah caste. If it were so, there would never be a week without revolutions; for it cannot be doubted, that at all times multitudes are to be found willing enough to resort to violence for sordid and selfish objects, when a safe opportunity presents itself. If it were so, the rebellion in Ireland would not have proved abortive; for that it failed was certainly not for want of daring adventurers, or unscrupulousness in the use of weapons of destruction.

Rebellions are not to be got up by public advertisements, nor are governments to be overthrown by mobs. Before a handful of rioters can proclaim a revolution, the revolution must have been already accomplished; silently and imperceptibly, perhaps, but not the less effectually accomplished,

in the alienation of the people from their rulers, and the withdrawal of that moral sanction which is the only true basis of power, and without which no administration can be long sustained.

According to certain writers, whose office it is to discredit as much as possible the French Republic with the middle classes of England, the principal author of the revolution of February was Adolphe Chénu, a shoemaker, connected with the party of "The Reforme" newspaper, who boasts (and it is but vain boasting) of having taken a leading part in the nomination of Ledru Rollin, Louis Blanc, Flocon, Albert, and François Arago, as members of the provisional government. According to Odilon Barrot, and the Committee of Inquiry, all the disorders that have happened since, have been the work of individual conspirators, like Chénu; and in denouncing Louis Blanc and Caussidière as insurrectionary chiefs, the committee doubtless imagine that they have struck at the root of the evil. Returning again to this side the Channel, we find Smith O'Brien, Dillon, Meagher of the Sword, and half-a-dozen turbulent physical-force chartists, enemies sufficiently formidable, if we are to believe the ministerial journals, to insure the entire ruin of the empire, were the slightest reduction attempted in our army and navy expenditure,—now amounting to seventeen millions sterling per annum!

All these conclusions are founded in error, and they belong to the most serious political mistakes that can be committed by statesmen. Conspirators may certainly always be mischievous, and a street riot may occasion much public anxiety, but they are only really dangerous upon a large scale, when the mass of the nation is with them. Louis Philippe, alone, was the author of the revolution of February. From the period of his accession to his flight, he had busied himself in the erection of an edifice upon a rotten foundation, and when the first shocks came, by which all foresaw it would have to be assailed, it crumbled

into dust. The insurgents of February were merely the accidental expounders of a nation's will. It was given to them to say, of the system of government pursued by Louis Philippe, "Let this end." It ended, and would have ended, sooner or later, if neither Adolphe Chénu, Louis Blanc, nor any other of the heroes of the barricades had existed.

And let us take the warning to ourselves while there is yet time. There is much in the policy pursued by our own government that must end, and end soon. That it has happily not yet ended rudely, by an outburst of violence, we owe to the good sense of the English public, and to a very wide-spread conviction that it is

"——— better to bear the ills we have,
Than rush to others that we know not of."

But how long will the impatience of the people be kept within the bounds of prudence? How long will public indignation at the slow progress of the organic and administrative reforms most needed, be restrained within the limits of order by the middle-class dread of revolution? Not a moment longer than when the financial embarrassments of a spendthrift administration, and the continued depression of trade from a sense of general insecurity, shall reach the point at which public and private credit shall fail to be upheld. Let the period but arrive when a Chancellor of the Exchequer shall fail to secure, by taxes or loans, the half-yearly dividends, and the government falls,—and with it the whole system of aristocratical domination, to which we owe the creation of that unprecedented load of public debt, of which the dividends, and the taxes which pay them, are a standing memorial. The British government is now sustained, not by national confidence in the wisdom of its councils, or in the progressive adaptation of our institutions to the wants of the community, but by a dread of further disturbance of the interests of property. The time may be near at hand when any change in our institutions may be deemed better for property than a continued stagnation of all living functions in the body politic, or a retrograde policy towards the maxims of the Stuarts.

We write earnestly, and we have reason for some anxiety when we find, at a time of grave emergency, the following sentiments with reference to the sister kingdom put

forward under the sanction of the present Secretary of the Board of Control:—

"It is time the truth should be spoken boldly out (and it will come better from devoted lovers and servants of constitutional liberty than from the Tory press), that the idea of equal laws for England and for Ireland is a delusion, a mockery, and a mischief; that Ireland is not ripe for constitutional, still less for self-government; that to give freedom to the rebellious and the lawless is to inflict tyranny and injustice on the well-disposed; and that not till Ireland has been trained and inured to respect and obey the law by years of rigid and severe enforcement, will she have learned those lessons of justice, honesty, truth, and subordination which can alone entitle her, by sharing English virtues, to share English liberties and English institutions."—*Economist*, Sept. 2, 1848.

It has been proved this last session before a Committee of the House of Commons that the number of legally qualified electors in Ireland, with its population of eight millions, is only 60,000. The solicitor-general has explained that the number of landed proprietors among whom the whole soil of Ireland is divided, is but 8,000, and that a large proportion of their estates is so locked up by entails and mortgages that the land can only be occupied by a pauper tenantry.* These 8,000 proprietors, for the most part Protestants and absentees, command the entire patronage of government as affecting the civil interests of the Catholic millions; and have, through successive centuries, enforced the power thus placed in their hands by a penal code worthy of the most barbarous despotism, which has only been relaxed in our own times, and not yet altogether abandoned.

If ever there were a case in which insurrection became a duty (provided insurrection could be proved to be the best remedy for national grievances), it is this; and yet men, in the position of the member for Westbury, can affect to deny that the people of Ireland have any cause for disaffection, and, blind to the experience of all time, have the hardihood to revive the sophisms of the old apologists for tyranny; telling us that the institutions of slavery are the best preparations for liberty, and that respect for justice is to be taught by violating its most fundamental axiom,—that all men should be equal in the eye of the law.

* For which "the Encumbered Estates Bill" of this session is but a very inadequate remedy, although a step in the direction of improvement.

Nothing can well be more saddening to a political philosopher, than the obscure notions of liberty which are held by many who call themselves advocates of human rights; and in this respect we must admit that there is but little distinction to be made between the two extreme sections of the French republicans and whig reformers. The practical comment of the actions of both resolves the struggle for liberty into a miserable question of which shall be uppermost. The whig aristocracy and their worshippers have always been the first to denounce arbitrary power in the hands of a tory cabinet; but, placed in their own, behold, the same arbitrary power becomes the palladium of the state! The definition of constitutional liberty given by "The Economist," is that of the American slaveholder, who could not conceive of a land of liberty in which he was not at liberty to punish a negro as he pleased. Would you fit the negro for self-improvement? Flog him, imprison him, or put him in chains at your own caprice. Begin by depriving him of every vestige of civil right. Let his every thought be in subservience to the will of a master. This is not the short and easy mode of dealing with popular discontent, to which large masses of men, not altogether destitute of the arts of reading and writing, can be brought to submit in the nineteenth century. The tide of opinion rolls on in the direction of self-government; and those who will not guide it but seek to stay its progress, will only be themselves buried, while resisting it, beneath the advancing and irresistible ocean wave of democracy. Louis Philippe wrought his own overthrow by the very policy which is now proclaimed as the whig talisman—a charm, not of safety but destruction.

The rock upon which the reputation of modern statesmen suffers shipwreck is that of over-rating the personal influence of individual agitators, and under-rating the moral influence of opinion. Popular ideas of political or social policy, whether right or wrong, are not to be prudently defied; when wrong, they may be got rid of by public discussion, but not by prosecutions; when founded in truth, they should be at once accepted, as the only means of securing the stability of public institutions.

A brief outline of the principal events which have followed in France the Revolution of February, in continuation of the paper on that subject in our April number, will illustrate this position, and, we hope,

clear up some misapprehension of the facts, bearing most directly upon our own future prospects.

We resume the thread of our former narrative with one further prefatory reflection, which seems to have escaped the ministerial and conservative press when they declaim upon the horrors of the insurrection of June as an argument against republicanism—that all the troubles that have arisen from the ignorance of the people, as well as the financial embarrassments of the Government, *are the heritage of the monarchy of July*. However sad the spectacle of the populace of Paris as it displayed itself in June, such as it is *it was left* by the ministers of public instruction of Louis Philippe.

Whether the promise of the new Republic, that the people at large shall at last enjoy the benefit of a sound and comprehensive education will be realized, the future alone will disclose; but their present neglected moral and intellectual condition is at least not the result of republican training. It is the result of that system of state-craft, which, to uphold the monarchy of July, sacrificed education to the clergy for the sake of their support out of doors, or bartered the patronage of education for parliamentary support within. This is perhaps the heaviest charge that now weighs in the mind of thinking men against the administration of M. Guizot; and the time may come when, if ever our own cabinet ministers shall be compelled, under a new order of things, to take their trial before a national tribunal for high treason against the State, committed in the exercise of their present functions, it will be for the same betrayal of the most important of all national trusts—the interests of the rising generation.

Let the reader, if he would appreciate the gravity and justice of this charge, and compare the populace of London and Paris, spend an hour towards dusk in the purlieus of Westminster Abbey, and speculate upon the wolfish physiognomies he will meet in Strutton's Ground or Snow's Rents. Let him imagine London fairly in the hands, for three days, of such sections of our working population; and then call to mind that this district is the centre of the operations of that ecclesiastical institution called the National School Society,—without exception the worst conducted establishment of the kind in Europe, but to which a gigantic share of public education has been deliber-

ately given; and given only as *the bargain* for a qualified parliamentary support, concluded between the present government and the party represented by Sir Robert Inglis and the Bishop of London.*

In the moral, as in the physical world, all violent convulsions are to be dreaded. Every one would prefer a pleasant alternation of showers and sunshine to the storms that rend the oak; but the air is the purer for occasional tempests, when they are past: and so with revolutions. There are, in all old societies, a mass of worn-out forms, false precedents, class privileges and abuses, too inveterate for any power less terrible than a moral earthquake to sweep away—so, at least, the present resistance to progress of the privileged classes in this country would teach us; and revolutions, attended with violence, must therefore be accepted, with other calamities, as the law of Providence.

The immediate disasters to which such convulsions lead, are not occasioned by the mere change of persons or forms in the executive, but arise out of its *unsettlement*. A revolution is the signal for party struggle; and for a length of time it remains doubtful with whom political power will rest. Where it rests finally is ever determined by the will of the nation, with or without universal suffrage; but this is rarely understood by revolutionary leaders. They do not allow for the difference of their position when the nation is *passive*, leaving them to act at their own discretion, and perhaps applauding their summary justice, and the time when suspicion has been excited of their own ulterior objects, and a spirit of national resistance has been aroused to defeat them. It was the natural error of the mob of rioters that broke into the Chamber of Deputies on the 24th February, that what a mob had done once it could do again. The mistake was in not perceiving that the mob had really done nothing but what the nation had permitted;—the disgust of all classes with the government of that day having been at the time greater than their apprehensions of a popular *émeute*. Circumstances had changed before the 15th of May, and before the 23d of

June society had pronounced its fiat, as in the days of Napoleon, of "military rule rather than mob law." Fortunately, General Cavaignac appears to understand his own position, and to recognize a truth of which Napoleon was ignorant,—that mob law, and military rule, are both alike states of transition, and that the world is too far advanced to allow of either as the basis of permanent national institutions.

The most hopeful circumstance of the occurrences of February, was the formal announcement of this truth by M. de Lamartine. On the very day of the triumph of the revolution, in the midst of the street combatants, who had burst into the Chamber of Deputies on the 24th of February, he stated his conviction, that the right of forming a new government did not rest with them, but with the 35,000,000 of the French nation, to whom it would be necessary to appeal; and that in the meantime, an organization purely provisional could alone replace the government that had fallen. Such was also the spirit of the first proclamation of the Provisional Government. It said,—

"The Provisional Government desires a Republic, pending the ratification of the French people, who are to be immediately consulted.

"Neither the people of Paris, nor the Provisional Government, desire to substitute their opinion for the opinions of the citizens at large, upon the definite form of government which the national sovereignty shall proclaim."

The people of Paris, however, or rather the men of the barricades, would not adopt the liberal sentiments preferred in their name. The proclamation, instead of gratifying them by its respect for true liberty, alarmed them by the possibility it implied, that a Republic might not, after all, be accepted by the nation at large. To prevent this danger, they insisted that the nation should have no option in the matter;—besieged the chambers of the Hotel de Ville with threatening importunities, and refused to disperse until the Provisional Government had assented to a decree, formally proclaiming a Republic, and abolishing royalty for ever.

This was done on the following day;—a false step, but one for which there seems to have been no help. The members of the Provisional Government were, at the time, but straws in a whirlwind, then at the height of its fury. Their names even were scarcely as yet known to the public, and

* The principal condition of which is, that no inspector of schools in connexion with the National School Society shall be appointed without the consent of the Archbishop of Canterbury; and a consequence of which is, that the whole of the twelve inspectors so appointed are clergymen.

the resignation of Lamartine and the more moderate portion of his colleagues, would not have hindered a proclamation of the same tenor, with different signatures.

It is of some importance, however, to note that this announcement of a Republic, without any previous consultation of the nation, was really a violation of the very principle of national sovereignty which a Republic is supposed to establish; and we remark this, the rather because the views of even such a man as General Cavaignac do not appear to be quite clear upon the subject. "The sovereignty of the people" means, that the will of the majority shall prevail. But this involves the right of the people to combine monarchical forms with representative institutions, if they should deem it expedient to do so. To suppose, then, the case of the majority of a nation being in favor of an hereditary president, —from old associations, or from a desire to avoid the periodical excitement of elections, the minority that should decide for an elective president, and enforce its decision by the aid of the military, although it might call the government it established a Republic, if it thought proper, or by any other name, such a government would really be an oligarchical usurpation.

The Republic proclaimed in February was a fiction. It had to be created. The government established, and perhaps the only one that was possible under the circumstances, was that of a temporary dictatorship. Society, not of its own free will, but from necessity, and to save itself from anarchy, rallied round a few men, and invested them with the powers of a Russian autocrat.

The temptation, while at the height of public favour, to exercise these powers beyond the warrant of their position, was great; but should have been resisted. The true policy of a government thus formed was purely administrative. Beyond the arrangements necessary for convening the national representatives, the Provisional Government should have confined itself to the same ministerial functions which would have been exercised by the ministers of Louis Philippe, had they remained in office. It was for a National Assembly, and not a Provisional Government to decree the abolition of royalty, slavery, title, oaths, &c., and to alter fundamental laws, where change was required. All the difficulties by which the Provisional Government were finally overwhelmed arose out of these acts

of arbitrary legislation,—thrust upon them, it is true, and exercised with much honesty of purpose, but not the less a dangerous trust. Every decree issued from the Hotel de Ville, was a mischievous precedent. No matter what the wisdom of the decree, considered apart from its origin, the fact of its having been issued without any formal concurrence on the part of the nation, was naturally calculated to weaken the respect of the people for the representative institutions which the Provisional Government sought to establish. It led the populace of Paris to the conclusion that France, under a republic, could be as well governed without a National Assembly as with it. The secret of governing was supposed to lie in the fabrication of decrees; and by whom they were fabricated seemed to be of no moment, provided the authors of the decrees were in possession of the Hotel de Ville.

Here, then, was the first serious and fatal mistake of the leading men of the Revolution. Had they understood each other on this point, and remained true to the original purpose of Lamartine, to refer all legislation to a convocation of the nation by its representatives, they would not have been embarrassed by a demand for decrees to effect impossibilities; they would not have issued the decrees affecting labor and civil contracts which brought all industry to a stand, and have since had to be revoked; and the populace of Paris would not have been tempted to rebel against the National Assembly, to set themselves up as decree-makers.

The second great mistake of the Provisional Government was their general distribution of arms and accoutrements, to enable the whole body of the working classes to enrol themselves in the ranks of the National Guards. Happily, the effects of this mistake were partly counterbalanced by the creation of the Garde Mobile. The subjecting to the rules of military subordination the young vagrants of the streets, who, with the arms in their hands which they had obtained from the gunsmiths' shops, would have been a most dangerous class to have left to their own discretion, was an inspiration of wisdom. The populace, hostile to the regular troops, who had been compelled to leave Paris, admitted without jealousy the presence of a paid soldiery recruited from their own ranks, although differing only from regular troops in the name.

We doubt whether, under any circumstances but the extreme case of invasion, the existence of voluntary armed associations, whether as yeomanry, militia, volunteers, or national guards, should be encouraged. As an irregular force they are seldom to be relied upon at the moment of greatest need, while attention to mere parade duties is to men of business an intolerable servitude. But there surely ought to be no doubt at all that the *whole* population of a nation should not be embodied in such voluntary armed associations. For if everybody may be safely trusted with weapons of destruction, for what purpose are they to be carried? Why not dispense with them altogether? If, on the contrary, there are criminals and madmen against whom society must always stand upon its guard, surely it is next to lunacy on our part to increase the danger, by giving them the means of taking away life.

And let not our popular sympathies hoodwink our better judgment. All men are not honest men. Whether as a legacy of bad government, or from the constitutional imperfections of human nature, there are classes of men sunk in wretchedness, ignorance, and vice, who may with truth and all sad earnestness be styled "dangerous classes." Let us do what we can to raise them; but surely not trust them till we *have* raised them. Let us give the hungry and desperate man a loaf, or the means of obtaining one by his labor,—not a musket, to tempt him to take the loaf by violence, and life with it.

This is one of the questions upon which Lord John Russell and General Cavaignac appear now to be of the same mind, but the whig government, when in opposition, were quite as zealous as the most ardent French republicans for the right of the poorest to carry arms; and the provisions of the "Irish Arms Bill," now revived, were then a favorite subject of attack. Of all rights, the right to hold the power of putting a bullet through the head of a fellow-citizen is the one which peaceable men would be the most content to surrender, or have put under some wholesome restraint. Why not then the Irish peasant and the French *ouvrier*? What do those want with a gun or a pike, who are partly dependent upon charity for their support, and who, when not so dependent, have neither the opportunity of killing wild animals in their native forests, nor of sporting in game preserves? We would say to the English premier as well

as to the French President of the Council, "Do not fear the extension of civil rights. Do not mistrust the press; but military law is the proper law for the use of military weapons. Where reason is to prevail, leave error at liberty to combat it; but put down guns and pikes. It was not lightly said, 'those who take the sword shall perish by the sword.'"

In these two mistakes—the decree-making powers assumed by the Provisional Government, and the encouragement and assistance given to the universal arming of the population—we find the chief causes of the disorders which followed upon the Revolution. Without the arms given them the populace of Paris could not in June have risen in insurrection against the combined forces of the National Guards, the Garde Mobile, and the troops of the line; and without the temptation of making decrees at the Hotel de Ville the insurrection would have had no object: those who thought of pillage were but the thieves by profession.

The notion that these disorders arose out of the prevalence of *Socialism* is very general, both in France and in this country, but is a very inaccurate explanation of the facts. The decree of the 2d of March, which restricted the hours of labor was borrowed from the Ten Hours' Labor Bill of Lord Ashley, adopted the year before by the English parliament, but limited to women and young persons. The decrees of the Luxembourg for regulating wages were only in the spirit of the every-day practice of Trade Unions.* The *Ateliers Nationaux*

* M. Louis Blanc has addressed a letter to the editor of the "Times," dated September 8, 1848, on this subject, from which the following are extracts:—

"You attribute to my system and to the National *Ateliers*—which you call *my Ateliers*—the miseries of the present situation of my country. Allow me to repel, with all the indignation of an honest man, wounded in the most sensitive part of his heart, such a horrible responsibility. What! Sir, my public asseverations, twenty times repeated, never contradicted; the official declarations of M. Emile Thomas, Director of the National *Ateliers*; the recent debates of the French Assembly; the documents published in the second volume of the *Enquête*;—all these have not convinced you that I was not the person who organized the National *Ateliers*! that they were brought into existence against my wishes, against my will, in opposition to all my principles, and even with the avowed object of counterbalancing the influence over the people that was attributed to me. No, Sir, no! Absolutely, I was nothing in the creation of the National *Ateliers*. It was M. Marie, then Minister of Public Works, who established them; it was M. Emile Thomas who was

were not established by Louis Blanc, but by M. Marie, and were a mere copy of the relief organization adopted sixty years before by the first National Assembly, and more recently, upon a much grander scale, by Lord John Russell in Ireland, during the winter of 1846-7. The greatest number of persons employed at any one time in the *Ateliers Nationaux* appears to have been 120,000—the number similarly supported in Ireland rose at one time to 800,000.

by M. Marie appointed to the direction of them. As for myself—I affirm it, and I defy contradiction—I took no part in the formation of the National *Ateliers*, neither in their organization, nor in their direction, nor in their superintendence. If, then, there has been imprudence—and I believe there has—in assembling pell-mell, in the National *Ateliers*, workmen taken by chance from all professions; if there has been folly in giving them an uniform unproductive task, and in paying them for this unproductive labor wages which were but alms in disguise; if this deplorable institution has become for the state so flagrant a cause of ruin that it has been necessary to crush it; if the workmen of the National *Ateliers*, when they ceased to receive their habitual wages, fell into despair; if, in short, a party among them have produced the insurrection of June under the influence of the most terrible misery—by what strange reversal of all the laws of justice can be imputed to me such results? to me, who—I repeat it—was a complete stranger to the National *Ateliers*, who disapproved of their being called into existence, who never put my foot into them, and who never interfered in what concerned them, neither in their establishment nor in their organization, in their direction, nor when the question arose of their dissolution? To each, then, belongs the responsibility of his own works.

"You impute to my system, Sir, the bloody disorders of Paris. I may remark that my system has, up to this time, received only two applications, altogether partial and confined in a very narrow circle. But, far from condemning my doctrines, these two partial applications form the most striking justification of them; for the association of journeymen tailors, and that of journeymen saddlers, which I founded, still exist; they prosper, notwithstanding all that has been done to decry them, to destroy them; and it is to be remarked, that they did not join in the insurrection of June—a decisive fact which I recommend to the attention of all men of good faith!"

After some quotations from his "Organization du Travail," in illustration of his principles, he says—

"I could produce here numerous passages extracted from my speeches at the Luxembourg, and you would perceive that I have everywhere condemned, as equally puerile and fearful, the extravagances of force, and that I have always placed the victory of justice in the calm and regular development of public reason by the liberty of the tribune, by the liberty of the press, by the right of discussion. In twelve years I have written much. Well, if there exists in my books, in my speeches, one word, one single word, which is an appeal to violence, to brute force,—let it be shown to me! I affirm that it is impossible to produce such a word.

"For the rest, Sir, there is a fact which cannot be contested, which now belongs to history, and

The Provisional Government passed no decrees of a really Socialist character. There was abundant precedent in monarchical and competitive institutions for every act of Louis Blanc's administration as far as he was permitted to act; but it was natural enough that at a time of revolution, Socialist doctrines, as a means of improving the condition of the masses, should be earnestly discussed; and that they should be adopted without being understood by a multitude of unreasoning partizans, who,

which speaks more loudly in my favour than all reasonings. Whilst I remained at the Luxembourg, and when I had it in my power to act upon the people, did the slightest disorder take place? Was there in Paris the least agitation? Did not the people—who, it has since been pretended, were excited by my speeches—did they not exhibit an admirable example of moderation, of resignation? Was it not then that they pronounced this sublime sentence—'We have three months of misery to offer to the Republic!'—But to maintain order in Paris during the two months of passage to power, what force had I at my disposal? Speech—nothing but speech. For you are not ignorant, Sir, that there was not at that period a single soldier in the capital. What can possibly be opposed to so demonstrative a fact? What! the popular agitations only commenced to date from the day when I ceased to have the power of efficient action upon the people, and it is I whom they would hold responsible for these agitations. In truth, this would be more than injustice—it would be folly.

"I do not stop at the word 'pillage,' which has found itself, I know not how, under your pen, in an article relating to me. I cannot believe that you have wished to carry calumnies against both my heart and my intellect to such a point. For he who should perceive in pillage a means of destroying misery, or even of avenging it, would be the worst of madmen as well as the most depraved of wretches.

"You recall, in relation to me, the affairs of May and of June. As to the insurrection of June, it was so manifest that, far from having taken part in it in any manner whatever, I was struck with consternation at it, that the hatred of even my most cruel enemies has not been able to find here any subject of accusation against me. In what relates to the manifestations of the 15th of May, I reckon upon proving, by undeniable facts, that they have sought in it only a pretext to place me at a distance from the National Assembly at the moment when the constitution was about to be discussed.

"In a recital upon which I am at present engaged, and which I shall have the honour of addressing to you, I shall speak of the true causes of the troubles of May, of the civil war of June, of the state of siege, and of the evils which overwhelm my beloved country. In the meantime I limit myself to the declaration, with the authority of a conscience without reproach, that I have never had a hand in any plot, in any attempt at violence, in any disorder—and that to spare the pain of such to my country, I would with joy have given all the blood in my veins.

"I am, Sir, your very humble, and very devoted servant,

"LOUIS BLANC."

taught to expect everything from decrees, should become impatient at seeing them stop short of the immediate realization of their wishes.

Ledru Rollin has shown that the cry of "*Vivre en travaillant ou mourir combattant*" was first raised by the Lyonnese in 1832, and that the right of labour recognized by the Provisional Government was no new doctrine, but had been admitted by the leading republicans of the first revolution. He might have added that it was the doctrine upon which every English labor-rate act has been founded; the doctrine defended by innumerable leading articles in the English *Times*, during the life-time of its late proprietor, and the keystone of the whole policy of English protectionists. As to *Socialism*, the views of George Sand, Louis Blanc, M. Considérant, M. Cabét, M. Prudhon, and other advocates of a new organization of industry, essentially differ, and differ from the views of former writers on the same subject, as St. Simon, Robert Owen, and M. Fourier. To attribute, therefore, the conduct of the French working classes to Socialism, when there is as yet no clearly-defined system recognized as "*Socialism*" by any considerable body of persons, is to betray ourselves by a confusion of language into false conclusions upon the causes of events. We attach the more importance to the exposure of this error, inasmuch as the only principles upon which "*Socialists*," as they are called, are agreed, happen to be fundamental axioms of political economy. They are,—that associated industry is the most powerful agent of production, and that the principle of association is one susceptible of further and beneficial development;—axioms which no thinking man would attempt to controvert.

The popular error of the day was not the notion that a wise administration can do something more for the improvement of the condition of the people than has yet been attempted or accomplished (a fact that can hardly be disputed); but an exaggerated estimate of the power of government to accomplish great improvements suddenly. A simple fiat from the Luxembourg had closed the factories at a given hour;—why could not another fiat provide the means of employment which the factories had ceased to furnish? Employment had been hastily promised for the destitute, and in the name of National workshops, the people were set to dig holes in the Champ de Mars and fill

them up again. Was it possible to suppose that all the intelligence of a government could not devise labor of a more productive character than this, for the relief and encouragement of industry? It was not possible. No amount of *laissez faire* eloquence will, or ought to, convince the working classes that all public works must necessarily be public jobs, and end in public idling.

The *Ateliers Nationaux*, established by the decree of the 26th of February, were formed upon the precise model of the system adopted under the Irish Labor Rate Act, for the wasteful and mischievous expenditure of ten millions sterling; and with the same result—not strengthening the government by increasing its popularity; but weakening it, by exciting the contempt of the very recipients of its bounty.

People in England sometimes express surprise that in spite of their liberality to Ireland in a season of distress, the repeal agitation gained ground; yet it was, perhaps, the most practical demonstration ever witnessed of the incompetency of an English administration, however well-intentioned, to meddle in Irish affairs. Few could resist the conclusion that if Ireland had been left to its own resources and its own management of them, it would have got through the difficulty with a less amount of social demoralization than in that universal scramble for public money which characterized the relief administration, not of any "*sordid or selfish*" socialist republican, but of Sir Charles Trevelyan.*

The most sensible way to have met the difficulty of the *Ateliers Nationaux* would have been for the leading men of all parties to have united in the support of some one or other of the many schemes of experimental associations suggested which promised the best for success, or offered the fewest chances of failure; and would, during its progress, have at least satisfied the working classes that honest exertions were making in their favor. A million or two sterling would have been cheaply expended upon abortive Phalansterian institutions, as compared with the sacrifice of life and

* Who, for his share of the plunder, has been permitted to draw upon the treasury for £2,500, although already overpaid as a public servant by an annual salary of the same amount.

It will be remembered that this Vote in the Miscellaneous Estimates was the subject of two nights' debate in the House of Commons, and was, notwithstanding the indignant remonstrances it occasioned, pressed and carried by Government.

property during the insurrection. But it was the policy of the conservative organs of the press to attack the Provisional Government through the *Ateliers Nationaux*, insisting alike upon their suppression and the condemnation of every substitute proposed; until the working-classes, at first patient in their sufferings, became fixed in the belief, gradually worked into exasperation, that they were to be robbed by the *bourgeoisie* of all the benefit from the revolution; as in 1830. On the other hand, the middle classes, alarmed at the stagnation of trade and depreciation of property consequent upon the political uncertainties of the time, were naturally inclined to the opinion that the revolution had gone far enough, and that a re-actionary policy was rather to be encouraged than any countenance shown towards new schemes for new changes.

With this explanation of the various influences at work upon the mind of the community, let us glance at their operation.

The first breach between the middle and working classes arose out of a decree of the Provisional Government dissolving the select companies of "Grenadiers" and "Voltigeurs" of the National Guards, with a view to their amalgamation with the rest of the force, and that there might be no distinctions tending to create jealousy or ill-feeling between one portion of the body and another. This decree having given great dissatisfaction to the Companies it affected, they assembled on the 16th of March,—marched in uniform, but without arms, to the Hotel de Ville, and sent in a deputation to the Provisional Government to request that the decree might be recalled;—principally upon the ground, that when dispersed among the mass they would be unable to elect as officers their old commanders. This ill-advised proceeding met with a signal rebuff. They were received by the mob in passing through the streets with cries of "*A bas les aristocrates*,"—"Vive l'égalité." The Provisional Government declined to revoke their decision (which, in fact, if the whole population were to be enrolled in the National Guards was only the necessary complement of such a measure), and the next day was met, at the instigation of Sobrier and other leading clubbists, by an overwhelming counter-demonstration on the part of the people.

Numerous crowds assembled at an early hour in the Place de la Concorde, and marched in close ranks of nine and ten

abreast to the Hotel de Ville, to assure the Provisional Government of their support, and determination to resist any reactionary movement. Returning from the Hotel de Ville, the crowds continued to defile through the streets, to impress the same fact the more emphatically upon the friends of the old system; completely obstructing all the principal thoroughfares by their numbers, until nightfall.

The first week in April was occupied by the elections of officers of the National Guards. It was chiefly marked in Paris by the two opposite results of the election of M. Clement Thomàs (an officer of cuirassiers, compromised at Lunéville in 1834, by his republican sentiments, and, subsequently, a refuge in England); a man uniting firmness with moderation, and of great private worth; and the election of M. Barbés, as Colonel of the 12th Legion,—an extravagant ultra, who was soon to join in an attempt to overthrow the government of February.

In the provinces the National Guards elected, for the most part, their old officers. M. Beauvais, an ex-peer of France, was chosen colonel, to the great indignation of the party who had thought to secure the triumph of republicanism by intolerance, and had insisted upon the wholesale dismissal of every adherent of the old government.

Of this policy, M. Ledru Rollin, was the chief impersonation. Something, of course, may be said for it, for it was, doubtless, true that the Republic had been accepted by many functionaries who were certain to embrace the first opportunity of betraying it; but it was, notwithstanding, an intense blunder. It turned, at once, the whole body of government officials and their partisans into active enemies; and it necessitated appointments of men, whose qualifications, beyond the recommendation of zeal, there was no time to examine, and whose violent language and administrative incapacity alarmed the timid, and provoked, in many of the departments, the very reactionary spirit it was the object of the minister to prevent or to allay. The impassioned eloquence of Ledru Rollin, and the sympathy of his colleagues, have enabled him subsequently to stand his ground in the National Assembly against a hostile majority; but neither the eloquence, nor admitted honesty of purpose, will justify measures which defeated their own end, and

which, if they had not been moderated by Lamartine, would have been altogether disastrous.

Want of courage has not been the failing of Ledru Rollin, but we like not his tacit acquiescence in the apology made for him, that the offensive parts of his circulars to the provinces were written, not by himself, but by M. Jules Favre, and that the semi-official "*Bulletins de la République*" were the productions of George Sand. The sentiments of the documents prepared for him were his own, however much he might have altered the phraseology; and the responsibility should have been accepted. The influence of George Sand,* as one of the private secretaries of the Provisional Government, was calculated to restrain the violence of Ledru Rollin,—not to encourage it.

The immediate object of the bulletin of the 15th of April, quoted by the committee,

* It was brought forward as a kind of charge against the Provisional Government by the Committee of Inquiry, in their Report, that the accomplished pen of Madame Dudévant (George Sand) was occasionally employed in the preparation of official documents. The committee would, probably, in 1790, have condemned the Girondists on the same ground for availing themselves of the assistance of Madame Roland. An abler secretary than Madame Dudévant could hardly be found in France; and certainly France has not produced a writer more anxious to promote a peaceful solution of the questions in which the working classes are most interested. It is true George Sand is the advocate of a species of communism; but not of communism founded by violence, or established by spoliation. All her writings and political addresses breathe a contrary spirit; especially, since the revolution, when her object has been not to increase, but to calm the popular excitement which has prevailed. In the case laid hold of by the committee, she had been desired to prepare an address, in which an intimation was to be given of the danger that would be incurred by the reactionary party, if their efforts should be successful to return candidates opposed to republican institutions. She made three different drafts of an address to this effect, putting the same idea in different forms; and the following was selected:—

16^e Bulletin de la République,

15th Avril.

"Les élections, si elles ne font pas triompher la vérité sociale, si elles sont l'expression des intérêts d'une caste, arrachée de la confiante loyauté du peuple, les élections, qui devaient être le salut de la République, seront sa perte, il n'en faut pas douter. Il n'y a alors qu'une voie de salut pour le peuple qui a fait les barricades, ce serait de manifester une seconde fois sa volonté, et d'ajourner les décisions d'une fausse représentation nationale.

"Ce remède extrême, déplorable, la France voudrait-elle forcer Paris à y recourir."

It will be seen that the unguarded phrase, "la vérité sociale," is open to misconstruction. It reads like a menace in favour of Socialist candidates, but was not so intended.

was at least a proper one, being to tranquillize the public mind on the eve of another apprehended popular tumult, arising out of the suspicions of the people that the approaching elections of representatives to the National Assembly would be so managed by the legitimists and reactionists, as to trick them out of the benefits they had hoped to derive from the revolution. This feeling was encouraged by a number of disappointed candidates for office, who were annoyed at the decreasing influence of their own party in the government, and who thought to persuade the public that the national interests would be best promoted by placing themselves and their friends at the head of the Republic.

Overtures were made to Ledru Rollin by some of the clubs, to induce him to join in an attempt to set aside Lamartine and several of his colleagues, and establish a committee of public safety, instead of the Provisional Government. A meeting was called for the 16th of April, in the Champs Elysées, of which this was the secret object, the nominal one being the rights of labour.

The scheme failed; for although it was not difficult to assemble large masses of an unemployed population, it was not yet easy to convince them that the National Assembly then about to be elected would prove hostile to their interests, or impotent for their relief. The meeting was held, but the friends of order rallied in great numbers on the first alarm. The events of the day are thus described by M. de Lamartine:—

"At five in the morning I was informed of what was passing in the clubs, and of their intention to establish a committee of public safety, in lieu of the Provisional Government. I gave notice individually to the friends upon whom I could most rely in the National Guard. M. Ledru Rollin came to me in a state of great excitement. He said, 'We are going to be attacked by 120,000 men, at the head of whom are 20,000 armed men belonging to the clubs.' He reported to me the offer that had been made to him, and the intention entertained of excluding me from the government, as well as several of my colleagues. I said to him, 'As Minister of the Interior, you have the right of ordering the *rappel*. If by chance there be a National Guard in Paris, we are safe.' Ledru Rollin assented to this without hesitation, and went away to order the *rappel* to be beaten. I ran to Devivier's, to assemble some battalions of the Garde Mobile round the Hotel de Ville, and with General Changarnier to defend myself there, hoping that the National Guard would act so as to save Paris. Duvivier adopted my project. He admirably comprehended the value of the Garde Mobile. 'Where are the cartridges?' said he to me.

I thought he could have them at the *état-major* of the National Guard, General Courtais, and the commander-in-chief did not disappoint my expectations. He proved very loyal. I went, in fine, to the Hotel de Ville; Changarnier rejoined me there. He made his military disposition, and we waited for the announced manifestation. Two young men had been sent into the Faubourgs to warn it. At length, after painful apprehension, the 12th legion appeared on the bridge, crying, 'Vive la République.' The armed civil force was roused; the triumph of the moderate Republic was assured; the threatened procession from the Faubourgs appeared in turn, and was drowned in an immense movement of National Guards, to the repeated cries of 'Vive la République.'

The attention of all parties was now absorbed by the election of representatives to the National Assembly: a grand experiment of universal suffrage, to be carried out by perhaps the very worst mode that could have been devised for insuring an intelligent choice. We have shown, in a former paper, that while large electoral districts are necessary to ensure electoral independence, yet if, on the other hand, districts are made so large, or the number of representatives to be returned so considerable, that the mass of electors cannot possibly become personally conversant with the qualifications of the candidates, the election becomes a mere lottery, excepting as regards the leaders of parties. We pointed out especially the deplorable mistake of assuming that every male adult living in the department of the Seine, was fairly equal to the selection from the mass of his fellow-citizens of not merely one, two, three, or half-a-dozen legislators, but of not less than *thirty-four*; and of not only assuming this, but compelling him to place thirty-four names upon his voting paper; even when disposed to vote for a smaller number.*

* DEPARTMENT OF THE SEINE.

(First Election, of April 24th, 1848.)

SUCCESSFUL CANDIDATES.

1	Lamartine	..	..	259,800
2	Dupont (de l'Eure)	..	..	245,083
3	Arago (François)	..	..	243,640
4	Garnier Pagès	..	..	240,890
5	Armand Marrast	..	..	229,166
6	Marie	..	..	225,776
7	Crémieux	..	..	210,699
8	Béranger	..	..	204,471
9	Carnot	..	..	195,608
10	Bethmont	..	..	189,252
11	Duviver	..	..	182,175
12	Lasteyrie (Ferdinand)	..	..	165,156
13	Vavin	..	..	151,103
14	Cavaignac	..	..	144,187
15	Berger	..	..	136,660

The results we anticipated have been realized. A large proportion of the members of the National Assembly have obtained their seats by the happy accident of their personal obscurity, and the necessity of completing the list with the names of unknown candidates, when the names of candidates

16	Pagnerre	..	..	136,117
17	Buchez	..	..	135,678
18	Cormenin	..	..	135,050
19	Corbon	..	..	135,043
20	Caussidière	..	..	133,775
21	Albert	..	..	133,041
22	Wolowski	..	..	132,333
23	Peupin	..	..	131,969
24	Ledru Rollin	..	..	131,587
25	Schmidt	..	..	124,383
26	Flocon	..	..	121,865
27	Louis Blanc	..	..	120,140
28	Recurt	..	..	118,075
29	Perdiguier (Agricol)	..	..	117,290
30	Bastide (Jules)	..	..	110,228
31	Coquerel	..	..	109,934
32	Garnon	..	..	106,747
33	Guinard	..	..	106,262
34	Lamennais	..	..	104,871

REJECTED CANDIDATES.

Moreau (de la Seine)	..	..	99,936
Boissil, <i>id.</i>	..	..	93,642
David d'Angers	..	..	79,323
Vellu, carpenter	..	..	76,777
Goudchaux, banker	..	..	68,004
Pascal, printer	..	..	62,472
Degoussée, ingénieur civil	..	..	65,352
Deguerri, curé de Saint-Eustache	..	..	64,495
Barbès	..	..	64,065
Lacordaire, dominicain	..	..	62,333
Savary, shoemaker	..	..	61,487
Courtais	..	..	61,401
Jouvencel (de la Seine)	..	..	60,728
Hugo (Victor)	..	..	59,446
Changarnier, général	..	..	58,654
Trélat, médecin	..	..	57,783
Martin Bernard	..	..	53,216
Raspail	..	..	52,095
Arago (Etienne)	..	..	52,016
Say (Horace)	..	..	48,935
Leroux (Pierre)	..	..	47,284
Delestre	..	..	47,144
Danguy, printer	..	..	46,924
Althon-Shée (d')	..	..	45,454
Malamé	..	..	42,409
Adam, Chambreur	..	..	41,555
Champion (P. manteau bleu)	..	..	40,829
Drevet	..	..	39,714
Dupuis	..	..	39,644
Montagne	..	..	39,529
Huber	..	..	39,177
Petit, général	..	..	37,194
Lavaux, négociant à la Villette	..	..	36,909
Berard, tailleur	..	..	36,400
Redon, chapelier	..	..	36,344
Ney de la Moskowa	..	..	35,790
Sue (Eugène)	..	..	35,583
Valerio	..	..	33,550
Charles	..	..	33,035
Gauthier-Desmats	..	..	32,194
Ledrenille, abbé	..	..	31,797
Flotte, cuisinier	..	..	31,517
Cartigny, tisseur de laine	..	..	31,329
Guillaumon, cordonnier	..	..	30,212
Lebon Napoleon, élève en médecine	..	..	28,994

really known to the elector were exhausted. This was strikingly shown in the Paris election, by the return of M. Schmit, a functionary of the late government, who had been described in some of the journals as an "*Ouvrier*," to catch the votes of the working classes. The election was afterwards annulled in consequence of petitions to the National Assembly sufficiently numerous signed to warrant a belief that of the 124,000 persons who voted for M. Schmit, the greater part did so under the persuasion that they were voting for another M. Schmit, of totally different sentiments! But what can be known of the sentiments of candidates whose very identity is thus rendered doubtful by the confusion inevitable from such a system of miscalled representation!

The election, however, as far as it affected the leaders of parties, demonstrated clearly enough the state of public opinion. Lamartine was elected by ten different departments. Candidates supposed to be friendly to violence or extreme measures were generally rejected, or chosen only by narrow majorities. It was evident that the

nation desired order, security for property, and revival of trade, more than either a monarchy or a republic. But its inclination was more conservative than had been suspected. Not only were liberals of the school of Odilon Barrot, who had opposed the idea of a republic, chosen, but in some instances extreme partisans of legitimacy from the late chamber of peers. Thus even M. de Montalembert, who it will be remembered had made, not later than the 14th of January, a fierce harangue against the Swiss federalists, in which he had denounced radicals and reformers in general, and characterized the first French revolution as an infamy, was returned to the National Assembly for the department of Doubs; where, although last on the list of the seven successful candidates, he obtained the votes of 22,572 electors.

At Rouen the election was in favor of moderate republicans, with Lamartine at the head of the poll, but so much dissatisfaction was occasioned by the rejection of the candidates of the extreme clubs, that riots ensued, which were not suppressed until after three days of sanguinary contest between the National Guards and the mob, and were then only brought to a close after a great sacrifice of life by detachments from Paris of the Garde Mobile. Riots also took place at Calais, Rochefort, St. Amand, Limoges, and some other towns; but only to an extent sufficient to show that the constitution of the National Assembly was not such as to satisfy a minority, but still a formidable class; as the class which had taken the most active part in bringing about the recent changes.

The fact is another illustration of our former argument, that it is neither right nor politically expedient to refuse to minorities a share in the representation. At Rouen, the communist and extreme republicans were to the moderate republicans in the proportion of one to three. In the same proportion both parties should have been permitted to return members. There might then have been still some disappointed murmurings; but there would have been no fighting.

The National Assembly met on the 4th of May, and, for the moment, the anxieties and distrust, of which it was the object, were laid aside, and all gave way to an impulse of hope and rejoicing. The day was one of brilliant sunshine. The whole population of Paris thronged to the Place de la Concorde, to witness the procession of the Provisional Government from the hotel of

Audry de Puyraveau	28,833
Considérant (Victor), [not republican] ..	28,673
Chevassus	28,566
Lagarde, horologer	28,176
Thomas (Emile)	28,166
Dupetit-Thouars	26,880
Bayard, imprimeur à Saint-Denis ..	26,882
Larochejaquelin	25,684
Lagrange de Lyon	25,570
Leroy, bijoutier	25,295
Vidal, économiste	24,868
Girardin (Emile)	24,340
Grivaud, peintre en décors	23,462
Thore, écrivain	23,024
Lamoricière	21,045
Cabet	20,616
Sobrier	20,403
Deplanque	19,817
Delmas	17,456
Thayer (Amédée), propriétaire ..	17,318
Michelet, professeur	16,523
Durand Saint-Amand	15,906
Weil, écrivain	14,739
Thomas (Charles)	14,692
Chambellan, avocat	13,048
Martelet, adjoint	12,661
Halevy, musician	12,636
Thierry, Dr.	12,293
Launette, ébéniste	11,777
Melun	11,636
Fabre (Jules), secrétaire du ministre de l'intérieur	11,396
Restout	10,727
Pousyée, instituteur communal ..	10,716
Gaillardin	10,294
Delaire, ébéniste	9,273
Thomas (Clemente)	7,076
Reneau, de Sceaux	6,225
Riglet, adjoint	5,486

the Minister of Justice, in the Place Vendôme, to the Chamber of Deputies, where a new hall had been erected for the National Assembly. In this hall seven hundred of the newly-elected members were already present. They received the members of the Provisional Government with the warmest acclamations, and repeatedly interrupted the address read to them by Dupont de l'Eure, with cries of "Vive la République." After some time passed in the customary forms of verifying the election returns, it was represented to the Assembly, that the immense multitude without would be gratified by the ceremony of a formal public proclamation of the Republic in front of the building. Adopting this suggestion, the Assembly left the hall, appeared on the steps of the peristyle of the Chamber of Deputies, facing the countless thousands of spectators, who lined the opposite terraces of the Tuileries, the Pont de la Concorde, and the banks of the Seine, and were received with deafening shouts of "Vive l'Assemblée Nationale," "Vive la République." M. Audray de Puyraveau, the senior member, then read a proclamation of the Republic, which had been agreed to on the motion of M. Beryer;—a signal for renewed shouts, and for the beating of drums, the waving of flags, and the firing of cannon.

In the midst of this enthusiasm and apparent unanimity, the elements of discord existed, and were early manifested. On the following day M. Buchez was elected president, partly by the votes of the conservatives of the Assembly, who united with his personal friends to defeat M. Trélat, the candidate of the "*National*," apparently on no other ground than that M. Trélat received the support of Ledru Rollin. M. Buchez obtained 382 votes; M. Trélat 262; M. Reart 91.

This was the first admonitory symptom to Lamartine, that to maintain his own influence with the Assembly, it would be necessary to separate his cause from that of Ledru Rollin, Flocon, and Louis Blanc, the leaders of the extreme parties, by which his administration had been embarrassed. That he did not do so is an evidence of political honesty superior to the dictates of personal ambition,—but is less creditable, we think, to his judgment as a politician. Lamartine, while differing from the views of his obnoxious colleagues upon almost all questions of home administration and foreign policy, yet dreaded their influence out

of doors. He knew that their names were regarded by large sections of the people—and sections it was not prudent to disregard—as symbols of pledges which had yet to be redeemed, and thought, that to drive them into open opposition might provoke insurrectionary movements (not dreaded without reason, as subsequent events demonstrated), and, before the new institutions of the republic had become consolidated, plunge the whole country into civil war. This reasoning, however, was as fallacious as the arguments for the compromising expedients of a Whig government to alienate friends without conciliating enemies, with which the English public have long been familiar. The dissensions which had prevailed in the Provisional Government, were a matter of public notoriety.*

* The following are extracts from the evidence on this subject given to the Committee of Inquiry:—

"M. ARAGO: A want of harmony prevailed in the government. Two elements were in presence—the element of a moderate republic, and the element of a more ardent republic. Thence sprang disagreement; but this disagreement was never revealed in public acts. The first cause of disturbance was the mad opinions propagated amongst the labouring classes. It was evident that such ideas would lead to sanguinary disturbances. The theories of the Luxembourg have been most fatal; they have given rise to hopes which were manifested even in the electoral colleges. It was assumed that Paris was all France; that Paris was to direct and govern all. The circulars sent out were most deplorable. They even created a doubt of the possibility of founding a republic in France. We then decided that one member of the government should revise and control the terms and spirit of each new circular; but this measure was not put into execution. I owe to truth and justice to say that the author of the circulars was not Ledru Rollin, but M. Jules Favre. M. Louis Blanc wanted to have a progressist ministry. I objected to it, because we should have have been obliged to give this ministry to Louis Blanc himself, and because it might have been supposed that we partook of his doctrines. He then threatened to withdraw. That would not have been without danger, for we had no forces whatever. The two elements of the red republic and socialism sometimes joined together, in order to thwart us. M. Ledru Rollin, however never participated in the socialist principles of M. Louis Blanc; but in other respects they agreed, especially to adjourn the elections.

"M. Marrast says that three parties were in presence in the bosom of the Provisional Government: socialism and communism, represented by MM. Albert and Louis Blanc; the republic, violent and advanced, by MM. Ledru Rollin and Flocon; and the moderate republic, represented by MM. Dupont (de l'Eure), Arago, Lamartine, Garnier Pagès, Marie, and himself. Though the majority was certainly great, it was nevertheless forced to submit to great sacrifices on account of the circumstances and the exigencies of party. M. Marrast was very often for sending in his resignation, and came to the firm resolution that he would never be a member of any administration with M. Ledru Rollin. The Mayor of

It was no longer possible to govern with a divided cabinet. The clubs could not be blinded to his real object—that of silencing them by office without power; and confidence was not to be restored to the country at large by prolonging the uncertainty which had existed as to the extent to which violence and extravagance might proceed in the councils of government. Lamartine should have feared less the influence of individual agitators, and relied more upon colleagues of business capacity, if he could have found them, to grapple with the labour and financial difficulties of the crisis—the only condition of popular support which was really essential to his administration, and against which club conspiracies would have proved impotent.

Ledru Rollin and Flocon had, it is true, shared with Lamartine the perilous responsibilities of the revolution, and if monarchy had not been overthrown, it might have been true chivalry to have united his fate with theirs; but the Republic having triumphed, and Ledru Rollin and Flocon having lost ground in public opinion, Lamartine was not called on to share the consequences of their errors, and fall with them.

The opportunity of preserving his own position (which it would have been most useful to France for him to have maintained), was given to him by the National Assembly, and rejected. A committee, appointed to consider the best form for a provisional executive, until fixed permanently by the constitution, which had yet to be discussed, reported in favor of the direct election by the National Assembly of the several ministers formerly appointed by the crown. Had this proposition been adopted, there is no doubt that Lamartine would have been chosen nearly unanimously to the post of Premier, and Minister of Foreign Affairs; but neither Ledru Rollin, Flocon, nor Louis Blanc, would have found a seat in the new administration.

Lamartine opposed the adoption of the report. He contended that great inconvenience would result from the personalities inseparable from discussions upon the mer-

its of different candidates for the ministry, and that, to avoid it, a provisional executive should be substituted for the crown, until the constitution, about to be framed, had otherwise provided. It was moved, accordingly, by his friends, that a provisional executive should be appointed. This was carried, but by a majority of twenty-eight only. The members of the provisional executive were elected the following day; but so much offence had been given by the determination of Lamartine not to separate himself from Ledru Rollin, that a considerable number of representatives determined to mark their displeasure by voting for neither the one nor the other. To the surprise, therefore, of many, who expected to see Lamartine at the head of the list, the names at the close of the scrutiny stood as under,—

Arago	..	..	..	725
Garnier Pagès	..	..	..	715
M. Marie	..	..	..	702
Lamartine	..	..	..	645
Ledru Rollin	..	..	..	458

The very first debates of the Assembly brought out, in strong relief, another of the mistakes of the leaders of the revolution; but a mistake of which we see with some surprise that neither the French nor English press appears to be conscious,—the error of convening, for purposes of discussion, a far greater number of persons than can possibly deliberate as members of one body. It is almost a contradiction in terms to call a body of nine hundred members a deliberative assembly. How can there be deliberation where it is physically impossible for the whole of those who would take part in a debate to express an opinion, unless by clamor? A body of nine hundred representatives is not a deliberative assembly,—it is a mob; and with regard to the faculty of silent attention, it is even inferior to an ordinary mob: for, in a crowd assembled in the streets, there are usually but few speakers, and the rest are willing to listen; but in an assembly of representatives, all are speakers; every person present is anxious to distinguish himself, or impressed with an opinion that it is his duty to say something upon every important question, if only to satisfy his constituents. Hence a competition for a privilege, attainable only, from the nature of things, by the few, which speedily degenerates into uproar and disorderly tumult.

The National or Constituent Assembly of the first revolution was composed of 1,250

Paris, and the Minister of the Interior were in a permanent state of warfare and rivalry. M. Ledru Rollin ordered M. Rouvenat to visit every mairie and inspect the elections. M. Rouvenat named twenty-four delegates to assist him; he (Marrast) resisted the protection of M. Rouvenat, and requested the mayors to pay no attention to his instructions. Then it was that M. Ledru Rollin sent in his resignation, which M. Lamartine persuaded him to withdraw."

members; the subsequent National Convention consisted of 750 members; and, excepting upon questions upon which all parties happened to be unanimous, the proceedings of both bodies were devoid of dignity, from an incessant collision of the right of discussion on the one hand, with the apparent tyranny of the majority in suppressing discussion on the other, when it was necessary to put an end to otherwise interminable debates. In the case of our own House of Commons, what is the result of calling together as oracles of the state a body of 658 members? At the commencement of every session, when the greater part have really assembled, the business of the nation always stands still. Week after week is occupied with questions of party attack, and personal invective or recrimination. When the majority have gone out of town, and not till then, the work of legislation commences.

We may remark, also, that to accommodate a body of nine hundred members, and an equal number of spectators, without inconvenient crowding, considerable space is required. This object has been fully attained by the accommodation afforded in the new hall of the National Assembly; but great space can rarely be provided without a corresponding sacrifice of facilities for hearing. When, therefore, the representatives met, it was discovered that, without shouting, the proceedings of the President and the orators of the tribune would to many be reduced to dumb show: but those who could not hear, could indemnify themselves by talking together; which prevents others hearing. Out of the great space of the hall grows another inconvenience. The "tribune," or pulpit desk, from which it has always been customary in French legislative chambers for a member to address the House, is, in the new hall, so far removed from the back seats, that a member from one of them must *run* to the tribune, if he would not be anticipated in reaching it by those in front of him. Hence the frequent remarks of the reporters of the press, of members "rushing violently," or "*precipitating*" themselves towards the tribune.

When to remedy this to some extent, it was arranged that members wishing to speak on a debate should inscribe their names on the President's list, and be called upon in turn, it was found that the list often extended to the names of forty persons, wishing to speak on the same debate, and that before a tenth of them could be heard, the impa-

tience of the majority would demand a division.

We notice points which to some may appear of little importance, but which are really at the bottom of the whole theory of representation. There is no other reason than *numbers* for a nation not transacting its own business; and if its so-called representatives be also too numerous for the object, a nation must and will, sooner or later, get its work done without them. This question of numbers admits of a simple arithmetical solution. Assume three hundred days, and six hours a day, for the debates of a session; what share in the debates does that allow each representative of the nine hundred members of the National Assembly? Twenty-four seconds of speaking in each day; two and a-half minutes in each week; ten minutes in each month; two hours for the whole year!

From the causes we have named, it was impossible that the early proceedings of the National Assembly should be of a character to command the respect and confidence of the public, while, under any circumstances, it was certain to disappoint the extravagant expectations excited by agitators in the minds of the working-classes. The form of suffrage adopted had resulted, not in a fair representation of the intelligence of the nation, but in a heterogeneous jumble of politicians, thrown together, by the chances of a hap-hazard system of election, in a mass too unwieldy for the development of any clearly defined policy. The first fortnight of the existence of the National Assembly exhibited it as a body efficient only for resistance to further changes, but almost incapable of progress; and altogether unequal to the task of strengthening or reconstructing the social edifice. The friends of order observed with alarm that the time of the Assembly was day after day wasted in frivolous and often fierce altercations; and the trades' unions saw with rage, that while the Assembly were condemning and insisting upon the dissolution of the *Ateliers nationaux* (which no man supported excepting as a temporary provision), the majority had neither the capacity nor the inclination to provide any kind of substitute out of which hope might arise, of some permanent amelioration of their condition. This was especially thought to be manifested by the determination of the Assembly, early shown, not to listen to the proposition of government for the resumption by the state of the railroads.

This measure had been originally favored by Lamartine and his colleagues, on account of the productive employment that might be furnished by the completion of works abandoned by the companies from want of funds; and with a view also to that free circulation of labour which the state might secure to workmen, as in Belgium, by cheap rates of travelling, instead of the high fares charged by companies protected by monopoly.

It suited the railway interest to represent this project as one of confiscation, and it has been so regarded in this country; but it had not that character. The companies, with one or two exceptions, were all defaulters to government. The conditions upon which their leases and grants had been accepted were unfulfilled. The traffic of several of the lines had been suspended. It was a clear case for an equitable adjustment of mutual difficulties; and judging from the growing complication of railway embarrassments, such a settlement of them may soon be called for here.

In this state of the public mind, the power of inflaming it was not likely to be neglected by the leaders of faction, and would-be chiefs of the republic. An opportunity of enlisting public sympathy in their favour was presented by the news which had arrived of the defeat of the Polish insurgents, and of the probability that the cause of Poland would be lost for ever, if the assistance of France were not given. It was agreed at the "Central Republican Club" to get up a popular demonstration in favour of Poland, and against the reactionary tendencies of the National Assembly. This was fixed for Saturday, the 13th, when a meeting was held at the Place de la Bastille; but which failed to attract any considerable numbers. A procession, however, from the meeting marched through the streets to the National Assembly with a petition, and excited a momentary panic, during which the *rappel* was beaten, to call out the National Guards. Before the National Guards could march to the assistance of the National Assembly the procession had dispersed; and much irritation to both parties was the result of an apparently needless military summons. This irritation was greatly increased by another circumstance, which at the same time created general uneasiness—the sudden and unexpected postponement of the National *fête*, appointed for Sunday, the 14th; and to witness which it was cal-

culated that nearly a hundred thousand persons had arrived from the provinces.

The cause of this postponement was partly the incompleteness of the preparations for a festival on the gigantic scale contemplated, and partly the known intention of the extreme clubs to avail themselves of the *fête* to disturb the public peace; but the public being ignorant of the reasons which weighed with government, were more than ordinarily in the humor for listening to violent declamations against their policy. It was hence obvious to the clubs that there would be no difficulty in getting up the formidable and threatening demonstration they sought for, by another meeting in the *Placé de la Bastille* on the following Monday.

The fifteenth of May.

The meeting in the *Place de la Bastille* in favour of Poland, was attended by upwards of fifty thousand persons, many of them consisting of Poles, and delegates from the provinces; and the great majority perfectly unconscious of any ulterior designs on the part of their leaders. The whole body was marshalled in procession between eleven and twelve o'clock, and set out as before on their way to the National Assembly with a petition; carrying flags and banners, but without arms; their ranks increasing at every step as they proceeded.

Every needful precaution had been taken by the government; but unhappily the false alarm of the preceding Saturday had occasioned a general indisposition to obey the orders issued. The procession was to have been stopped at the *Pont de la Concorde*, by a battalion of the National Guards, but a small picquet only had assembled, believing that a peaceable demonstration, "confined wholly to Poland," was intended. The picquet was speedily driven back by the mere pressure of the crowd; and the procession reached without difficulty the iron railings surrounding the buildings of the National Assembly. Here their forcible entrance would have been resisted by a detachment of the Garde Mobile; but, while the leaders of the procession were parleying for the admission of a deputation with their petition, General Courtais, suspecting no danger, and anxious only to prevent a collision, which might lead to the effusion of blood, ordered the Garde Mobile to sheath their bayonets. The doors being then

opened to admit the deputation, the masses from behind pressed forward and entered with it.

The proceedings of the day, and the scenes which transpired in the Hall of the Assembly, we give in detail, as a chapter in the history of the Republic to be held in remembrance from its connexion with subsequent events, and its probable relation to the future.

NATIONAL ASSEMBLY.

Sitting of the 15th of May.

MONS. BUCHEZ president. One of the secretaries reads the minutes of the preceding day.

M. LACROSSE.—Citizens, I wish to draw your attention to a discrepancy which you must have remarked between your minutes and the '*Moniteur*' of yesterday. During the sitting of Saturday Citizen Recurl, Minister of the Interior, announced to you, that the preparations for the *fête* of the Champ-de-Mars not being completed, the *fête* was put off by government till Sunday, the 21st of May. Our surprise was extreme on reading in the '*Moniteur*' the following notification, signed by the Commander-in-Chief of the National Guard of Paris:—

"The General begs to inform the National Guard, that by command of the *National Assembly*, the *fête* of the Champ-de-Mars has been put off to the 21st of May."

I will not dwell upon the consequences of this gross-misstatement of a fact, the National Assembly having given no instructions on the subject. As representatives of the people we are answerable—and we will be answerable—for our own acts; but I protest against any proceeding that would trifle with that responsibility. If the Minister of the Interior, or General Courtais, find in my observation a word—a single word—which appears to them susceptible of rectification, I am ready to answer them. (Hear, hear.)

M. CLEMENT THOMAS.—M. le General Courtais is absent. I am persuaded that the notice referred to is the result of a mistake. The National Assembly should not, I submit, express an opinion upon the observations of M. Lacrosse before having heard General Courtais.

Several members, and the President himself, announce an infinite number of petitions in favor of Poland, from the clubs, the patriotic societies of Paris, and from several departments.

M. DE TRACY.—I have the honor to lay on the table a petition from the Polytechnic Club, demanding that the Commander-in-Chief of the National Guard be chosen by election. (Hear, hear.)

M. DE RANCE, member for Algeria, submits a proposition to the Assembly, that the territory of Algeria should be declared a part of France, and that the French who reside there should be governed by French laws.

I demand, continued the speaker, that this propo-

sition shall be discussed to-morrow. (Disapprobation.) The standing committees of the Assembly are not yet constituted; and, besides, the Committee for Algeria would not be competent. It is an affair which should be discussed by the whole Assembly.

Question adjourned *sine die*.

THE PRESIDENT.—I have to read to the Assembly a letter from the Citizen Béranger.

"Citizen President,

"If anything could make me forget my age, my health, and my legislative capacity, it would be the letter which you have had the kindness to write to me, and by which you announce to me that the National Assembly has honored my resignation by a refusal.

"My election, and this act of the representatives of the people, will be the object of my eternal gratitude. While they are a price far above the feeble services which I could render to liberty, they prove how enviable will be the recompense reserved hereafter for those who, with greater talents, will render more real service to our beloved country. Happy to have been the occasion of an encouraging example, and convinced that it is the only way in which I can again be useful, Citizen President, I again entreat the National Assembly most earnestly not to draw me from the obscurity of a retired life.

"It is not the desire of a philosopher, still less of a sage; it is the wish of a rhymist, who believes he would survive himself if he lost in the midst of the tumult of affairs, his independence of mind; the only object of his ambition.

"For the first time I ask something of my country. Earnestly do I hope its worthy representatives will not reject the prayer I address to them—in requesting them again to accept my resignation—and that they will pardon it as attributable to the weakness of an old man who yet is not insensible to the honors of which he deprives himself, in separating himself from them.

"I beg you to present my very humble excuses to the Assembly; receive, Citizen President, the homage of my respectful devotion.

"BÉRANGER.

"*Salut et Fraternité, Passy, 14 May, 1848.*"

M. RAYNALL.—I regret extremely that the Minister of the Interior is seldom or never seen at his post in this Assembly. I hope the President will point out to the Minister of the Interior the inconvenience of this frequent absence. (Hear, hear.)

The President reads the following letter from M. Martinet:

"The important mission which has been conferred on me by the people makes it impossible for me to fulfil two functions at the same time—I beg the Assembly to accept my resignation as representative of the people."

The resignation is put to the vote, and accepted.

M. D'ARAGON.—I was disposed to request satisfactory explanations on Italian affairs. I wished to ask if it be the intention of government to assist a people who are fighting for liberty; but as I do not desire to cause any embarrassment to a government

so recently established, I shall content myself with inquiring—what the Provisional Government has done for Italy since the 24th of February? I shall ask also what the Executive Commission has done since it has been formed, and what it proposes to do? From the Minister of Foreign Affairs I request an explanation on these different questions, reserving to myself the right of ascending the tribune, should the explanations appear to me unsatisfactory.

M. BASTIDE, Minister for Foreign Affairs.—Citizen Representatives, before the discussion begins on the questions put to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, permit me to explain the principles which, in my judgment, ought to regulate our conduct towards the people and foreign nations. These principles have been explained the first day of the revolution by the illustrious chief under whose orders I have had the honour to serve since the 24th of February. They will serve as a basis for the actual conduct of the administration. France, in proclaiming the principle of the sovereignty of the people, has established the right of all people to govern by themselves or for themselves. The world has not been taken unawares by our recognition of this right. It was expected. We have thus created a new and immense interest in the international relations of Europe. In deciding that the people do not form a property to be disposed of by princes at their convenience, we have introduced a new and fruitful principle of international law. (Approbation.)

Besides, it would have been useless attempting to prevent the establishment of the principle; it emanated from the revolution itself; and thus it is that our popular complaints do not relate to our financial situation, nor to commercial distress, nor to the grievances of workmen. No, neither finance, nor commerce, nor wages, are now discussed; but all voices are raised in favour of Poland. It is this which does honour to France, and gives to its revolution a special and glorious character. (Hear, hear.) Yes, we desire that the people should be free, and we think it our duty to aid all governments having the same origin as our own. (Hear.)

M. Bastide, after having explained, according to the principles of the manifesto put forth by M. Lamartine, the nature of the assistance we owe to the people of foreign states, continued,—

Fifty years ago we created a propagandist army; we began by a republican propaganda, and we finished by imperial conquests. (Hear, hear.) It is necessary to re-assure the public mind at the present time; to make Europe clearly understood that we aspire to no conquests, no increase of territory. We must be prepared, and wait the hour of aid, by united efforts, in the divine work of general emancipation. (Hear, hear.)

With respect to the treaties of 1814 and 1815,—it does not belong to us to make a new chart of the world; we do not in any way wish to usurp, not even for own advantage. (Hear.) It must be the combined work of Europe. A time will come when nations will understand each other, and know how to maintain the people's rights. Then our voice will preponderate. The noble ambition of France is to make nations happy,—not in spite of themselves, but with their own consent. (Hear, hear.)

M. D'ARAGON.—The speech of the Minister for Foreign Affairs declares three things, which I knew perfectly before. The first—That the sympathies of the Assembly are unanimous for the freedom of Italy. The second—That it is desirable, as far as possible, to preserve peace. The third—The cer-

tainty that France will interfere in Italian affairs, should Italy require its aid.

The question I submitted I do not think has been replied to. I asked what the Provisional Government had done, and what the Executive Commission proposed to do in the affairs of Italy. I asked, if the Government was ready to make a demonstration, what means it has to obtain from Austria the requisite concessions. In a word, I wished to know to what point the Government would be satisfied by the concessions of Austria, in the event of its abandoning one part of the Italian territories to keep another. I desire peace; but I know, that to have peace, you must be prepared for war. (Hear, hear, and disapprobation.) There are two ways of preserving peace. Immediately after the events of February, when Austria had in part lost the Italian and Venetian States, when several German states were in revolution, it was possible, by firm and skilful negotiations, to make Austria understand she had better resign herself to the loss of Italy. It is said, at that time we feared a general war. I say, no.

How could Austria have resisted our demand? On what assistance could she rely? On Russia? She would be cautious how she invoked that power. We could at that moment have negotiated advantageously. Now, are we prepared as much as we might be against the day when Italy may be obliged to ask our aid? For my part, I think not. A Committee of Defence has been appointed; that alone proves to me that you have receded before difficulties. (Oh, oh.) Such is not usually the plan of proceeding when one is decided. (Marks of impatience.) Besides, the committee has asked the creation of three armies. Where is the created army of the Alps? Of how many men is it composed? Are there, at this moment, more than 20,000? Have you that number ready to enter Italy in case of need?

General SUEERVIE.—The army of the Alps consists at this moment of 30,000 effective men. (Hear, hear.)

M. D'ARAGON.—One more question. If negotiations are entered into with Italy will a portion of the ancient Italian states be sacrificed to Austria, in exchange for some others? For myself, I should wish my country never to be satisfied so long as an Austrian soldier remained in Italy, or an Italian village belonged to Austria. I wish the replies to be made categorically, and not by a kind of programme.

M. LAMARTINE.—Citizens, not to take up the time of the Assembly, I shall abstain from answering immediately the questions put by M. D'ARAGON. I shall wait, because the questions should be based on another subject. I shall wait till they are arranged, and then I shall have the honour to claim, in right of my late position as Minister for Foreign Affairs, of replying at the same time to the two questions. I may add, that not any of the allegations of the honourable citizen D'ARAGON shall pass without reply, in their detail as well as the *ensemble*.

The PRESIDENT.—Before the citizen Wolowski begins to speak, I must beg to inform you of the nature of several of the petitions laid upon the table. Here are a great number from the department of the Oise. They have been presented on the part of workmen, or rather of country laborers employed in the forests. The petitions are evidently written by one hand. This is one—

"The bread of the laborer is work; we come to ask work for our wives and children."

These petitions will be sent to the Committee of

Workmen, and to the Minister of Agriculture and Commerce.

The President calls on citizen Wolowski.

M. WOŁOWSKI.—My discourse will be on the affairs of Poland; and perhaps there never was a more important and solemn question brought to this tribune. A question; in fact, of peace or war. I admit that it is full of the greatest difficulties, but I bring it before you with confidence; because I believe your feelings sympathize with mine.

At this moment the speaker is interrupted by cries of "Vive la Pologne," which are heard from crowds outside the building. Several members quit their seats in alarm, amidst cries of "to your places, to your places." It is agreed that, whatever circumstances may arise, the dignity of the Assembly will be best consulted by every member remaining at his post.

M. WOŁOWSKI.—When it affects a people, to whom has been given, with reason, the name of "the French of the North"—when it affects a people who have shed their blood with ours on all our battle-fields—I am certain to meet here the deepest sympathies. The only question it appears to me, to be agitated, is the one that has for its object the realization, as soon as possible, of the restoration of Poland. For that, it is necessary—

Here loud cries of "Vive la Pologne" outside, are heard again more distinctly than before.

The speaker is silent for some moments. Several voices—"Go on, go on."

M. WOŁOWSKI.—France does not fear war with 500,000 troops, and a national guard. On that account it should be in its language to other nations firm and pacific. France should not use force against any until it has exhausted all other means of persuasion. Such is true republican politics. The Polish question is not, as it has sometimes been thought, an adventitious question; reason fully confirms the interest that Poland ought to inspire; and the people, with their admirable instinct, have understood it admirably.

The noise increases, and the crowd outside appears to be approaching nearer, in violent tumult. Fresh interruption. A great number of members—"Go on, go on."

M. WOŁOWSKI.—I say that the popular mind has admirably seized the point of the question. What has ever been the glorious mission of Poland, the mission to which she has devoted herself? It has been one of civilization.

Loud and confused cries without. M. Degoussé, one of the questors, enters the hall, and informs the Assembly, that contrary to the orders given by the President, and by the questors, the Commander-in-chief of the National Guard had, in their presence, in the presence of the people, and of the National Guard, given orders to the National Guard and the Garde Mobile to sheathe their bayonets. This is received with exclamations on all sides, of "Treason"—"Infamy"—"Let him be sent for to explain his conduct." Other representatives, "No, no, let him be instantly superseded." Great confusion. M. Clement

Thomàs, colonel of the 2nd legion, makes some observations from his place, but the noise is so great he cannot be heard.

At this moment the cries from without, which had ceased for an instant, recommenced with violence. Repeated blows are struck at the doors of the different galleries, one of which is burst open by a crowd of men bearing a tricolored flag, on which is written, "Club de la Montagne." In a few minutes the neighboring seats are also assailed by men bearing flags with various inscriptions. Exclamations are heard on all sides—"The National Assembly is violated!" The President puts on his hat; several members at the same time prepare to leave the hall; others exclaim, "No, no, no, keep your places."—"We will not yield to violence." All return to their seats, but scarcely has order been restored for an instant, when nearly two hundred persons penetrate into the very centre of the hall by side doors, in spite of the efforts of the officers in attendance. A scene of disorder and tumult ensues, which it is impossible to describe. M. Barbès rushed to the tribune, and M. Clement Thomàs ascends it at the same time, expostulating with him. At the same moment a number of individuals mount the side staircases and support Barbès, M. Clement Thomàs is obliged to descend. The space between the front rows of seats is completely filled with strangers uttering shouts and exclamations, amidst which is particularly distinguished the cries of "Vive la Pologne," and "Vive Barbès."

Several members push their way through the crowd, towards the tribune, to induce Barbès to leave it, who makes signs that he wishes to remain and to speak. The President rings his bell with violence—"Citizens, citizens, will you listen to me?" "No, no." "Vive la Pologne!" "Let Barbès speak."

Mons. M. Corbon, vice-president, places himself by the side of Mons. Buchez, to assist in restoring order. A great number of members in different parts of the hall, seek to persuade the crowd to respect the National Assembly. Struggles and altercations are witnessed in every part of the hall. A number of persons now jump down from the galleries, and seat themselves amongst the representatives. M. Corbon, the vice-president, rings the bell violently, and begs, by gestures, for silence.

Several members, amongst whom are distinguished M. Ledru-Rollin, Mornay, Albert, Jouret, Caussidière, ascend the tribune, and try to say a few words, which are lost in the tumult. They appear to urge M. Barbès to leave the tribune, who makes signs that he wishes to speak, and the tumult subsiding for a moment, says, "I beg silence, in order that your speaker may read the petition."

Several voices, "Yes, yes, the petition." A voice from one of the galleries, "Yes, and the question of work."

This interruption is the signal for renewed clamor. M. Louis Blanc gets upon one of the secretaries' desks, the better to be seen by the Assembly, and with his hand begs for silence:—

Citizens and representatives of the people, I am

about to read your petition. (Several voices, "Vive Louis Blanc. Yes, yes, read." Other voices, "No, no, the petitioner.")

M. LOUIS BLANC.—It is necessary to have silence ere the petition can be read and discussed. I demand that silence which is necessary to consecrate emphatically the people's right to petition, and that will enable us to say that the people in their power are calm and moderate. I invite you again to silence, that the petition may be read, and that it may not be said that in entering here you have violated your own sovereignty.

M. RASPAIL.—Citizen representatives.

A MEMBER.—In whose name do you speak?

The uproar again recommences, and with increased violence. Several members exert themselves in vain to restore order. Cries are heard from the different galleries, which are so overcrowded it is feared they will not sustain the weight upon them. Ladies try in vain to escape. Some are overcome by heat and terror, and faint away. Exclamations are heard among the members and the crowd, of "No violence; no violence, at least." M. Courtais, commander-in-chief of the National Guard, who had been absent; enters in his costume of general. His face pale. He mounts upon the President's desk, as if to speak, and is immediately assailed by shouts and questions. Unable to make himself heard, he retires; and as he is leaving the hall, with an embarrassed countenance, several of the insurgents approach him, and take his hand; others exclaim, "Vive le Courtais." Another body of men now penetrate into the Assembly, carrying a banner, with the inscription: "The wounded of the barricades of St. Méry." Cries of "Vive la Pologne." Several voices, "It is no longer a question of Poland—vive Louis Blanc, the minister of labor." M. Hubert takes his place at the tribune, by the side of M. Raspail. M. Barbès places himself near the President, with whom he appears to exchange some words. The disorder continues, and nothing is heard but cries of "Raspail, Raspail." "The people are masters." "Down with the aristocrats." A voice from the galleries, "Look to the President: orders are being given to sacrifice the people." Renewed shouts of "Vive la Pologne, the petition, the petition."

M. Raspail reads the petition, which demands the restitution of Polish nationality, to be effected either amicably or by force of arms. He concludes by crying, "Vive la Pologne," which is repeated by the crowd, several of whom now call upon the members of the National Assembly to vote immediately a decree in concurrence with the prayer of the petition. The members, however, remain quietly in their places, and show no inclination to comply with the mandate of the mob.

The President, after having for a long time rung his bell to restore silence, is heard to say, "Permit at least the assembly to deliberate upon your petition." He is answered by shouts from the mob of, "The decree, the decree!"

M. Barbès. "I demand it may be decreed that the people of Paris have deserved well of their country." Cries of "Vive Barbès!"

M. Sobrier having walked about the hall for some time, conversing with different groups, ascends the

tribune, but endeavors in vain to make himself heard. Cries of "No, no: let Blanqui speak." M. Blanqui ascends the tribune. M. Clement Thomas says a few words, at the same time making expressive signs to call the factious to order, but without success. Subsequently he leaves the Hall to provide for the suppression of the riot, having been requested by the President and the members surrounding him, to take for the moment the post of M. Courtais, under whom the National Guards present had refused longer to act.

M. Blanqui climbs upon the railing of the tribune, to be better seen, and addresses himself to the crowd and to the members:—

"The Assembly will not hesitate to brave the coalition of Europe, and to support its demands by an army on the Rhine, in defiance of the obstacles raised by diplomacy. Poland must be re-established to its ancient limits of 1772. I take this opportunity also to demand an inquiry into the late events at Rouen. The prisons must be emptied: the surviving victims of the late massacre ought not to be punished. The people demand of the Assembly to occupy itself instantly with the means of providing employment, that bread may be given to all who are willing to labour. The people have seen with pain that the government has systematically removed the men devoted to the people's cause." Cries of "Vive Louis Blanc. A minister of Labor:" received with tumultuous applause.

M. Ledru Rollin ascends the tribune, and after several ineffectual efforts to make himself heard, at length obtains silence.

"Citizens, I do not speak here as a member of the Executive power, for in the midst of this tumult I have not been able to consult my colleagues; I speak as a simple citizen, as a representative of the people. You carry your petition to the Assembly, and there you have made known your wishes for Poland, and you desire that we should respond to your fraternal feelings for all nations. Be assured that our hearts respond to yours. (*A violent noise is heard without.*) Further, you wish to gain your living by labour. (Cries of "Yes, yes! the Minister of Labour. Vive Louis Blanc.") The people is great and strong by the Revolution of February; the people is wise and prudent; it will not be deceived." (Cries of "It has been deceived, but it will be so no longer.") M. Ledru Rollin: "You are too intelligent not to understand that it is impossible for an Assembly to deliberate in the midst of tumult."

Shouts of "The Minister of Labor," "Vive Louis Blanc," "Vive la Republique Sociale," burst from all parts of the crowd. The tumult is at its height, and no idea can be given of the disorder that reigns in the hall. The tribune is literally besieged by individuals who wish to speak, but in the midst of the confusion nothing can be distinguished but "Vive Louis Blanc," "The Social Republic." A portion of the mob takes possession of the space appropriated to the President and Vice-President, and seek to remove M. Buchez and M. Corbon from their seats.

M. Sobrier mounts upon one of the tables used by the scrutators for the examination of the ballot, and harangues the rioters nearest to him; a number of whom now leave the hall. Another portion of the mob seize Louis Blanc: elevate him in

triumph above their heads, repeating the shouts of "Vive Louis Blanc, the Minister of Labor."

MM. Barbès, Sobrier, Blanqui, and Flotte, occupy the tribune, and speak all together. At length one of them renews the demand for a decree that the people of Paris have deserved well of their country, with the addition, that any one causing the rappel to be beaten shall be declared a traitor and an outlaw. (Loud applause.) A member appeals again to the mob to leave the hall, and allow the Assembly to deliberate; but is met with cries of "No, no; we will remain here until the formation of the ministry of Labor."

The tumult continues. Propositions of all sorts, of which the greater part are unintelligible, from the confusion that prevails, are made from different parts of the hall. One of the leaders of the insurgents says, "I demand the vote of a tax of a thousand millions upon the rich." (Vociferous applause.)

M. Hubert rushes to the tribune, elevates himself above those by whom it is occupied, by climbing upon the railing, and cries out, "In the name of the people, I declare the National Assembly dissolved."

The tumult now reaches its climax. M. Buchez, President, and M. Corbon, Vice-President, are forced from their seats. One of the mob takes possession of the President's chair, and another, with disordered hair, flashing eyes, and furious gestures, mounts the tribune, and calls for the proclamation of a provisional government. A number of names are subsequently announced, which are received with cries of "Vive la République Sociale." A man in a black dress, with a piece of red cloth in his button-hole, name unknown, tears the red stripe from a tricolored banner, and exhibits it as the banner of the new provisional government, but some voices are heard to demand the tricolor. The greater part of the members of the National Assembly, being now completely divided and broken up by the mob pressing about them, on all sides, rise, and gain the doors. A group of about eight or ten of the members remain. Cries are now heard from the leaders of the insurgents of, "To the Hotel de Ville; to the Hotel de Ville;" and a part of the crowd, accompanying MM. Barbès, Blanqui, Sobrier, Flotte, and some other persons, leave the hall. The rest clamber over the seats, mount to the most elevated positions, and all, seeking to speak at once, utter discordant cries, of which it is impossible to catch the sense.

Suddenly a sound is heard of drums in the adjoining rooms. A company of the second battalion of the Garde Mobile enter the hall with fixed bayonets, and *au pas de charge*. On their appearance, the leaders of the mob, although alarmed, put a good face upon the matter, and seek to fraternize with the troops, exclaiming, "Vive la Garde Mobile!" But the chief of the battalion signs to his young soldiers to clear the hall, and they promptly obey. They form into files, and each file takes possession of one of the alleys dividing the members' seats. Other companies arrive and occupy every vacant place, supported from without by the National Guards in force. The insurgents at once disperse; the boldest seek-

ing safety in flight. In a moment the hall is emptied of all but the troops, and some few frightened men, who have lost their way, and cannot find a door of escape. These are pushed out by the soldiers, but without violence.

Amongst the ranks of the National Guards appear several provincial delegates, with the name of their Department suspended to their bayonets. The National Guards, stationary and Mobile, occupy all the entrances. The number of National Guards increases every moment. The members of the Assembly return to their places amid mutual and general felicitations.

M. CLEMENT THOMAS, [at the tribune.]—Citizens, we are here in the name of the National Assembly, which is not dissolved. ("No, no, vive l'Assemblée Nationale!")

General Courtais enters the hall, and is received with loud cries of indignation. Some of the National Guards appear to threaten him with violence; his epaulettes are torn from his shoulders; the persons about him protect him from further assault, and conduct him away.

It is now known that these indignities were unmerited. General Courtais had acted with weakness but not with treachery. His judgment had misled him in placing confidence in the assurance of the leaders of the procession of their peaceable intentions; and age had enfeebled his energies.

Some moments after, M. Lamartine enters the hall. He is received with enthusiasm, both by the members of the Assembly and the National Guard, and is almost carried in triumph to the tribune, where he makes the following observations interrupted every moment by applause:—

* Citizens,—The first duty of the National Assembly, which is enabled to deliberate in safety, protected by your bayonets, will be a vote of thanks to the National Guard, which has merited well of its country. (Prolonged applause, beating of drums.) Yes, Citizens; to that National Guard. (Numerous cries—"and to the National Guard Mobile.")

M. LAMARTINE.—I confound them together, both form but one guard for the defence of liberty. (Applause.) An immense majority of the inhabitants of Paris have been indignant at the disgraceful proceedings that have occurred in this place. (Prolonged bravos. Drums beat again.) Shame to those miserable wretches who would plunge the country into mourning, and draw down upon it the most fearful misfortunes; but we will console ourselves, citizens, with the idea that the scenes which have recently occurred here may have been for good. Let us be united, citizens, and form but one body, whilst this pretended government seeks elsewhere a seat, that will give way under its feet. (Thunders of applause.) The more the people of Paris shall have time to reflect, the more it will detest the crime which has been committed on this assembly. (Applause.)

A Voice.—It is not the people, but the factions. (Hear, hear.)

M. LAMARTINE.—We all intend, in the name of the government proclaimed by you two months since, in the midst of the National Guard, the National

Guard Mobile, and of that army from which it will for the future be impossible to separate ourselves, to re-unite ourselves with the members of the executive government, who are all, I do not doubt, animated with the same feelings as myself. (Applause.) You will only recognize, citizens, this government. In such a moment, the place of the government is not in the council, it is at your head, in the street, on the field of battle. (Prolonged applause, and cries of "We will accompany you.")

It is obvious that the revolutionary attitude assumed by the mob was an impromptu movement; although equally clear that its leaders had foregone intention to seize the reins of government whenever fortune should favour the design. They had not calculated upon immediate success, and had made therefore no preparations to support the victory they seemed to have won. Rushing from the National Assembly, the mob found itself in sufficient force to take possession of the Hôtel de Ville for a moment, but only to be as speedily ejected. Before its leaders had well settled whether Ledru Rollin and M. Caussidière, Prefect of Police, should be regarded as traitors, or invited to take part in the new Provisional Government, Barbès, Albert, Raspail, Thoré, and other of their chiefs, found themselves arrested. It was fortunate for the cause of order that the second legion, consisting of 35,000 men, had unlimited confidence in their colonel, Clement Thomàs, and that he being warmly seconded by the officers of several other legions, was enabled, in a couple of hours, to surround both the Hôtel de Ville and the Prefecture of Police with an army of men no unorganized force could resist, and more than sufficient to overawe the suspected "Republican Guard" of 1500 men, at the exclusive disposal of M. Caussidière. We return to the National Assembly which, for a short period, had adjourned its deliberations:—

The sitting is resumed; but from the excited feelings of the members, who continue to converse in groups upon the scenes through which they have passed, little is heard of what is addressed to the assembly from the tribune.

Upon the suggestion of M. Berryer, a message is sent to the Members of the Executive Commission requesting their attendance.

"M. PORTALIS.—Citizens, a great crime has been committed, the greatest of all in a free country. As Procureur-Général I have to request authority to proceed against the individuals who have violated the National Assembly. Among the authors of the crime there are two members of this assembly. In every grave crisis like the present, it is important that the legislative body should set the first example

of the respect due to justice. I ask then the Assembly to sanction the arrest of the Citizens Courtais and Barbès.

After a short discussion, the Assembly decrees that the Procureur-Général shall be authorized to arrest the Citizens Courtais and Barbès.

At this moment M. Garnier Pagès and M. Arago, Members of the Executive Commission, enter the hall, and are immediately surrounded by members congratulating them on the restoration to order. M. Garnier Pagès ascends the tribune. Profound silence.

"Citizen Representatives, if I address you, it is only to inform you of the measures taken by the Executive Commission. Since the morning the designs of certain agitators have been known, and orders were given to the Minister of Interior to arrest the parties. These orders have not been entirely executed according to the wishes of the Executive Commission. At the moment we heard a crowd was traversing the Boulevards, and that its object was to insult the National Assembly, the Executive Commission divided itself; two of its members came here, and the three others remained at the Luxembourg to give orders; the *rappel* was ordered to be beaten, and measures were taken to repress the disorder. When the factious crowd had invaded the Assembly, and dishonored the tribune, we gave orders for the troops and the national guards to surround the hall. We then appointed the general commanding the first military division of the troops of the line, commander-in-chief of all the public forces. I come to declare to you emphatically, we will have the National Assembly obeyed, and we will use the power with which we have been entrusted to punish with rigour those who make any attempt against the national sovereignty. (Hear, hear.)

We respect the right of association, which has been the primary cause of our glorious revolution; but we do not owe the same respect to the armed clubs, which threaten every day to invade the National Assembly. We will disperse them; for we are decided that power shall rest with the government, and if we cannot maintain it, we shall give in our resignations. We wish above all things an honest, firm, and moderate Republic; (applause) and that is what France desires; and in its name alone shall we promote that real fraternity which will satisfy the true interests of the people, in establishing order, and providing employment for industry.

M. LEON FAUCHER.—Great uneasiness still prevails in various quarters in Paris, in consequence of not knowing what is passing here. I demand that a proclamation be posted in the streets, informing the public that the National Assembly has regained its liberty, its security, its sovereignty, and that it exercises it. I propose also that the regular troops shall now be ordered back to Paris. Wherever it has been tried, the army has rivalled in zeal for the Republic the National Guard.

M. Clement Thomàs re-appears in the tribune; his hand wrapped in a white handkerchief, from a slight wound received by him while engaged with the insurgents.

"Citizens—Called by you to the post of commander-in-chief of the National Guards of Paris, I accepted it, because there was danger to be encountered,

and a duty to be discharged. Your object has been accomplished. Those who dared to invade the National Assembly are arrested; the new Provisional Government they proclaimed is overthrown. (Hear, hear.) Citizens, the functions which were for the moment confided to me, it is now for me to resign. (No, no.) I can retain them only until a commander-in-chief of the National Guards has been named by the Executive Commission, with whom the appointment rests." (Cries of "No, no." "Remain." "You are well qualified for the post, and worthy of it.")

M. GARNIER PAGES.—In reply to the remarks of M. Clement Thomàs, I ask permission to read to the Assembly a decree of the Executive Commission, by which the appointment of M. Clement Thomàs as commander-in-chief of the National Guards of Paris is confirmed. (Great and prolonged applause.)

The preparations were now resumed for the national *fête*. It was held the following Sunday (May 21st), in the Champ de Mars, and nothing occurred to mar the festivity of the occasion. The principal attraction was an allegorical car, ornamented with various devices to represent Liberty, Union, Agriculture and Commerce, behind which was formed a procession of five hundred young women, dressed in white, and wearing oak-leaf crowns. A day of uninterrupted sunshine helped to promote a holiday spirit, and good humor prevailed among all ranks of the people. General Clement Thomàs, the new Commander-in-chief of the National Guards, was the hero of the day.

The *fête* concluded, we again find the population of Paris waking to the discontents of a paralyzed industry, and political agitations consequent upon new changes and disappointed hopes. Tumultuous meetings in the streets are held nightly, which the National Guards with difficulty disperse. General Clement Thomàs finds it necessary to be on duty night and day, is twice fired at by assassins, and is soon almost worn out with the fatigue of a severe and thankless service. His activity raises up against him a host of enemies from among the partizans of the violent democratic clubs. He is at the same time attacked with calumny by the conservative press; and finds his elevation regarded with jealousy by military commanders having influence with the Provisional Commission. He tenders his resignation; which is refused. Subsequently finding an outbreak imminent, and that he will not be supported in the measures which would enable him to suppress it in the bud, he tenders his resignation again, and formally announces to the National Assembly his

intention to hold the office only till his successor is appointed.

We have not space to follow in detail the proceedings of the National Assembly. The fifteenth of May had naturally increased their reactionary tendency, and the hostility of the majority towards the men who appeared to them to be trafficking with the working classes for popularity. The Provisional Commission alone stood between Louis Blanc and an official prosecution. M. Caussidière was compelled to retire from the Prefecture, and induced to resign his seat in the Assembly; but he was immediately re-elected for Paris, and even brought in by the clubs at the head of the poll. The National Assembly committed the false step of betraying alarm at the election of Louis Napoleon, who was returned at the same time for Paris and three departments (June 7th)—thereby increasing his popularity out of doors, and giving him the opportunity of withdrawing himself with the importance of a man upon whose future presence the salvation of the nation might be dependent. Renewed attacks were made upon the *Ateliers Nationaux*; and it was at length agreed that the workmen employed in them should be drafted off into different parts of the country, where temporary work could be provided, so as to be generally dispersed.

This determination precipitated the sanguinary struggle which broke out in June, and which the extreme factions would otherwise have deferred. Secret arrangements had been made for an insurrectionary movement in July, but it was foreseen that the attempt would necessarily fail if their friends were scattered. No time was to be lost. Detachments from the *Ateliers Nationaux* were already on their way to the provinces. These were invited to return. Meetings were held in the suburbs and the most densely crowded parts of Paris, to excite the passions of the people. Mobs again assembled in the streets, and the neighbourhood of the Porte St. Denis and the Porte St. Martin were nightly impassable. At length the signal was given for the formation of barricades.

Friday, June 23rd.

"The movement commenced at the Place de la Bastille, where the first assemblage of workmen was formed about 9 o'clock in the morning. From thence the crowd, consisting already of from 600 to 700 persons, proceeded along the Boulevards to the Portes St. Martin and St. Denis, raising cries of 'Down with the National Assembly,' 'Down

with Lamartine,' 'Down with Ledru-Rollin,' 'Down with Marie,' 'Long live the Republic, democratic and social.'

"At 10 o'clock the barricades began to be formed at the Portes St. Martin and St. Denis. About 2,000 persons debouched by the faubourgs with the banners of the *Ateliers Nationaux*, having at their head leaders recognized by blue caps with gold lace, and among them were men wearing the uniform of the Republican Guard. On reaching the Porte St. Denis, this body commenced pulling up the pavement and tearing down the iron railings along the ascent leading to the Rue de Cléry, and destroyed the drum of a drummer who was beating the *rappel*, and who only escaped himself by taking refuge in the Restaurant de l'Œil-de-Bœuf, on the Boulevard Bonne Nouvelle.

"At 10 o'clock an omnibus was seized, and, the horses being taken away, was used in barricading the Porte St. Denis; two cabriolets and a water-carrier's cart were next taken, and employed in constructing a second barricade in the Boulevard Bonne Nouvelle, where a third barricade was also formed.

"At this time, among the barricades of this boulevard, in front of the Rue Mazagran, a number of children and women were observable, the latter exhibiting great animation; the men of the barricades entered the houses and demanded arms. They broke open the court-yard gates of two houses in the Rue de Cléry, and committed the same violence wherever the inmates refused to let them in. At half-past 11 o'clock firing was heard in the Boulevard St. Martin, at which time only a few isolated detachments of the National Guards were to be seen. At noon, the National Guard debouched by the Rue de Cléry, and a brisk firing began; one man was killed, while other persons, and among them a woman, were wounded. The killed and wounded were carried off by the men of the barricades. M. Roger (du Nord), formerly deputy, rode to the spot by himself, dressed in his uniform as chief de bataillon of the National Guard. Some of the persons assembled manifested an intention to disarm him and to force him to quit his horse, but he boldly resisted their attempts, arrested one of the individuals, and directed the National Guard to join him. A man, who levelled his piece at M. Roger, who, during the whole of this scene, exhibited great coolness and presence of mind, was slain, and fell dead at his feet. At this moment the firing of musketry was heard at different points at once. Three National Guards were killed at the barricade Mazagran, and their bodies remained on the Boulevard, being stripped by the men of the Barricades. At this moment, shots were fired from No. 3 and No. 5 of the Boulevard Bonne Nouvelle; No. 3 being the Café du Commerce, and No. 5 the Restaurant Thierry.*"

The Provisional Commissioners had appointed General Changarnier, who had been sent for from Algiers, successor of M. Clement Thomàs, as commander-in-chief of the National Guards; but General Chan-

garnier not having arrived,* M. Clement Thomàs continued to act, and directed in person an attack upon the first barricade erected in the Place de la Bastille.

"He had with him several companies both of the National Guards and troops of the Line, and four members of the National Assembly. The latter parleyed with the insurgents for some time, and urged them to disperse, but without success. They said, 'We have been deceived, and will be so no longer. We were told that the people were the sovereigns, and we will now have a government of our own choice.' General Clement Thomàs drew up his men in front of the Barricade, and prepared to carry it. While he was doing so, a man standing near, came and said to him, '*Prenez-garde, mon général, il y a quatre cents hommes qui ont juré de tirer sur vous.*' Suddenly the windows of the surrounding houses were thrown open, and appeared filled with armed men, pointing their muskets at the National Guards. A concentrated and murderous discharge followed. Twenty of the National Guards surrounding General Thomàs fell about him. He himself received a wound in the thigh; and the rest of his men having fallen back, he stood for a moment almost alone, covered with the blood of the dead and dying. Reforming his troops, and again encouraging them to the attack, the barricade was at last carried; but with a further sacrifice of life. General Thomàs afterwards proceeded to other points of the city where his presence was required; but the wound he had received becoming aggravated by four hours of duty, during which it had been neglected, he had then to be conveyed to the Tuileries, disabled from further exertion.**

The wound of General Thomàs did not prove dangerous, but other commanding officers were not equally fortunate in escaping the effects of personal exposure to this species of ambuscade fighting, in which they were picked off without mercy, by concealed enemies, firing in comparative security from behind brick walls. Before the insurrection was put down, France lost six of her bravest generals, several members of the National Assembly, and other men of note, in circumstances similar to those above narrated, and varying only in the details.

The capture of the first barricades erected appeared to have no effect in checking the progress of the insurgents. Dispersed in one quarter, they rallied in another, and threw up fresh barricades to isolate and cut off the troops employed against them. It was computed that as many as three hundred barricades were constructed on the first day of the insurrection; and on the second a third part of Paris had been rendered a fortified camp, defended, it is supposed, by at least 40,000 combatants.

* Journal des Débats.

* Extract from a Private Letter.

The National Assembly met on the 24th in consternation. The members of the Provisional Commission,—Lamartine and Arago, especially, were doing all that men could do to restore order, in co-operation with General Cavaignac, whom they had invested with the military command of all the forces in Paris, including the troops of the line, the Garde Mobile, and the National Guards, but so many in the Assembly believed that the insurrection had the countenance of Ledru Rollin, and, to all, the importance of unity, energy, and decision on the part of government was so obvious, that a vote was passed by an overwhelming majority, placing in the hands of General Cavaignac the entire executive powers of the state, and declaring Paris in a state of siege. To this vote the members of the Provisional Commission promptly responded by a formal resignation of their trust; and thus summarily ended the "three months of power," which have made for a poet-philosopher a name in history; and a name which, after all that can be alleged against Lamartine for errors of judgment in a most difficult position, will, for moral courage, moderation, generous impulse and rectitude of purpose, ever be received by posterity with respect.

The insurrection lasted four days; but we have no space, and no inclination for narration of the horrors for which those four days will be memorable. In brief, the state of extensive quarters of Paris was that of a town taken by storm, and defended with fury by its inhabitants. Cannon was brought to bear upon the barricades, and upon houses occupied by the insurgents as advanced posts; and whole streets were laid in ruins. Frightful atrocities were committed; but we have to remember, in their extenuation, that prisons containing the vilest criminals had been emptied of their inmates, and were fighting in the ranks of the insurgents, maddened with excitement and drink. It was this circumstance which rendered all attempts at negotiation perilous and abortive. Those who placed themselves in the power of the insurgents, hoping to reason with them, often found themselves entrapped, so to speak, into dens of wolves, or raving lunatics, upon whom reason was thrown away. Thus, even the person of the Archbishop of Paris was not respected, and he fell mortally wounded, while appealing to the insurgents in the name of religion and the God of mercy, that the strife should cease.

On the morning of Monday the insurrection was confined to the Faubourg St. Antoine, and before the evening the whole of the Faubourg was in military occupation. Throughout the conflict the troops principally engaged were the Garde Mobile and the regiments of the Line. The National Guards, with the exception of those of the legions connected by locality with the insurrection, lined the principal thoroughfares to prevent all communication with the insurgents. Shops were closed, all public intercourse was entirely suspended, and no person was allowed to proceed from one house to another without a military pass. At night no vehicles rattled through the streets, and silence prevailed like that of the dead, interrupted only by discharges of musketry, or the warning cry of the sentinels, repeated from post to post, till lost in the distance,—of "*sentinelle, prenez-garde à vous.*" It was another Reign of Terror, the effect of which, upon many persons of nervous and excitable temperaments, was in many instances more fatal than gun-shot wounds;* but it is some relief to learn,

* Dr. Brierre de Boismont, a physician of Paris, has published a paper "On the influence of the Revolution of February, 1848, and the Insurrection of June, on Developing Insanity in Paris."—Hardly had the last shots been fired last February, when I received several victims of that revolution, which, as M. Goudchaux, minister of finances, justly says, has been effected much too fast. These first patients were generally sad, melancholic, and despondent. Their fancies were of a heart-rending description, as they expressed a constant fear of being slaughtered and assassinated. One of these, a man of great learning, and the author of several scientific works, motionless, and with a fixed stare, hardly uttered a word; he was under the impression that he was going to be cast into a sewer, and there stifled. Another was ever exclaiming, "Here they are; they are breaking down the door; they are going to seize me, and shoot me!" Others fancied they heard threatening voices, telling them that they should be guillotined along with their families; or they constantly heard the reports of fire-arms. The patients of this class mostly belonged to the respectable trading part of the community; and many of them had, by industry and perseverance, succeeded in amassing some property, which people now wished to possess without taking any trouble at all. In order to escape the misfortunes they dreaded, some of these patients tried to destroy themselves, and the most careful watching was necessary to prevent them from doing so. Several, perceiving that they were closely watched, resolved to die with hunger, and persisted in their purpose with a sort of wild energy. Out of six of these, who all thought themselves great criminals, or ruined and betrayed by their neighbors, two died in spite of the employment of the throat tube. One of these two laboured under one of the strongest delusions which I ever observed. He had persuaded himself that his œsophagus had been walled in, and that no food could pass.

while we are writing, at the close of September, that the first accounts of the killed and wounded, which were said to have exceeded ten thousand, were exaggerated, and that the total number of deaths attributable to the insurrection of June, including those who have since died in the hospitals, is under 1,500.

The suspension of ten of the most disaffected journals—including *La Presse*, the editor of which (Emile de Girardin) was repaid for his advocacy of legitimacy by several weeks of confinement in prison; the disarming of three legions of the National Guards, and of the entire district which had been the principal seat of the insurrection; and the dissolution of the *Ateliers Nationaux*, were the first measures of the provisional dictatorship of General Cavaignac. The latter step was adopted on the ground that the *Ateliers Nationaux* were a dangerous focus of political agita-

"How is a man to live (he used to say) when aliments are thrust into his windpipe? you are choking me, and I shall soon be dead." But some time afterwards we received specimens of another description of patients, whose derangement might be fairly attributed to the working of the new political ideas. These were not dejected and sad; on the contrary, they had proud, gay, and enthusiastic looks, and were very loquacious. They were constantly writing memorials, constitutions, &c., proclaimed themselves great men, the deliverers of the country, and took the rank of generals and members of the government. It has long been maintained, that madness often bears the imprint of pride. I declare that I never saw this fact so forcibly borne out as with the patients whom the revolution of February drove mad; particularly those who, imbued with socialist, communist, and regenerating ideas, believed themselves destined to play a conspicuous part in the world. Going through the wards, a few days ago, with one of my professional brethren, we stopped with one of those patients whose disposition was originally of a kind and peaceful description, but who had grown restless and enthusiastic, by being torn from his usual and regular occupations by the excitement of the times, and flung into the streets, the clubs, and amidst the working classes. He spoke as follows, after having discussed two points which had been much debated of late: "I perceive that the people want to make it appear that I am mad: but I am proud of the glory which will be shed on my name when posterity will do justice to me, and ask, with painful astonishment, how the author of such useful and philanthropic views could ever have been thought mad! Why should I grieve at this injustice, however; was not Tasso locked up under the same suspicion?"

The terrible insurrection of June has already begun to bear its fruits. I have received more than twenty patients already, and I know that the proportion is equally large in other establishments. Among this number there were several cases of mania; those who were thus maniacal were threatening to kill, shoot, massacre everybody; they were constantly calling out murder, and help, and were, in fact, in a state of indescribable excitement. I

tion, although it was remarked that, after all, but a small portion of the men there employed, comparatively, had taken part in the insurrection; perhaps from an unwillingness to risk their government pay. Instead of wages for nominal work, relief was now given to them in rations,—as in Ireland upon the discontinuance of the system of employment upon the roads. A vote of the National Assembly decreed the penalty of transportation, with trial by court-martial, against all who had acted with the insurgents, and this penalty has been enforced in the case of several thousands who were at the time or subsequently apprehended.

Upon these measures, or upon measures of a more severe character, if such had been passed and confined to the emergency, it would be hardly necessary to make any comment; for at a time when blood is flowing, it is idle to talk of respect for law, or

have been told that a patient thus affected, and lying in an hospital for a wound, said, "I want to eat the flesh of a national guard, soaked in the blood of a garde mobile." Although I do not vouch for the truth of this report, I can state that what I heard in my establishment is fully as bad as this savage wish. The excitement caused by the firing of the musketry and artillery even seized upon women. One of them, who was brought to this asylum, after having been removed from a barricade where she was holding forth in a furious manner, told me that she left her husband without knowing what she was about, and that she remembered neither the words nor the acts which were attributed to her. This lady, who has a cultivated mind, is full of talent, and writes excellent verses, seems to me to have been under the influence of a febrile over-excitement, brought on by the agency of terrible events upon a naturally sensitive and nervous disposition. But the greater number of these patients belong to the melancholic form of the disease. Like the February patients of the same category, they talk of death, the guillotine, ruin, pillage, and fire. The terrible scenes which they have had under their eyes have plunged them into a sort of stupor. A lady inmate of the asylum was telling me yesterday—"Before this dreadful revolution I was of a cheerful disposition; but how is it possible not to go mad, when one is in constant apprehension for the life of one's children, for one's property, and where the certainty of being stripped of everything stares one in the face? These fearful events have plunged me into this wretched state. I am a prey to constant frights—the least movement, the least noise, makes me shudder. I endeavour to reason myself into a calmer state, but I feel powerless." It should be noticed, that our civil discords have not been the direct cause of derangement with all the patients. There were some among them who, for some time previously, had shown symptoms of aberration of mind, and in whom the revolution has hastened the appearance of the confirmed disease. Others had had anterior attacks; but about half of them had been in the full enjoyment of their mental faculties, and their madness had no other cause than our fearful political commotions.—*Lancet*.

the forms of constitutional liberty; but we have seen with surprise and mortification that the conservatives and moderate or lukewarm republicans of the National Assembly, forming the majority, have united to put themselves in the wrong, not only with the unreasoning portion of a democratic public, but with all sincere lovers of freedom, in maintaining martial law long after the necessity for it has ceased, and reviving some of the most odious restrictions of the right of discussion, to get rid of which seemed to be the very object of the Revolution. More than three months have now elapsed since the insurrection has been quelled, and Paris is still in "a state of siege." General Cavaignac is still invested with the powers of a military dictatorship, in favor of which it is only to be said that they are exercised with strict impartiality; neither the advocates of communism, nor of monarchy, nor of republicanism in any other form than that which now exists in France, being permitted to give free and fair utterance to their sentiments.

Now, if ever there was a time when rules of law and public opinion would have been sufficient restraints for the licentiousness of the press, it was the month following the sanguinary days of June. The appetite for violence had been too much satiated with blood, for its advocates to retain their influence with any considerable class of the people. The authors of new provocations to insurrection would have sunk beneath the withering effects of public scorn and hatred, even if the law had failed to punish. They had then no case for agitation;—now a plea is given to them. Their acquiescence is to be asked in a constitution, voted at a time when liberty of discussion was suspended. How can a constitution so passed win its way into the confidence of the masses? The National Assembly have even revived the law of caution-money, the effect of which (like our own stamp laws) is to confine to capitalists the privilege of newspaper publication. No political daily journal, however small, is to be published in France without a deposit lodged in the hands of government of nearly £1,000. The sage principle of this law is, that because a man may knock down his neighbor in walking through the streets, no one shall be at liberty to stir out of doors till he has entered into recognizances for keeping the peace! Yet we see with regret and with feelings even of

humiliation, that such a man as Leon Fauchér, from whom, as a member of the Society of Political Economists, we had looked for better things, puts this doctrine forward as his interpretation of republican liberty. The mischief that he is thereby doing is immense. Political economy is by too many regarded as a mere scientific apology for wealth and privilege; and the speeches of Leon Fauchér, in the National Assembly, like the writings of Peter M'Culloch, in this country, are helping to confirm that impression in the mind of the working classes.

Equally impolitic and mischievous has been the conduct of Odilon Barrôt, in bringing the support of what, in England, we should term the whig interest, to the impeachment of Louis Blanc and Caussidière, for their presumed share in the riot of the 15th of May. The evidence against them, adduced by the Committee, establishes nothing but their mob popularity and their sympathy with the mob. These are hardly crimes for which a jury will convict; and if a conviction be obtained, they are still not crimes in the estimation of the working portion of the population. The charge also was one which had been already disposed of by the Assembly. Why revive it, especially when the evidence had entirely failed of connecting either Louis Blanc or Caussidière with the events of June, if not from motives of personal and party animosity?

In the meantime the Minister of War announces that the French army has been again raised to an effective force of 500,000 men;—this not from any fear of invasion, of which there was never less ground of apprehension, but with the same objects as that of Lord Palmerston,—to hold a high rank as the arbiter of nations. The English and French governments are now spending, upon what they term necessary measures of national defence, the collective sum of thirty-five millions sterling per annum; and neither government has the wit to perceive, that if it were to keep a third part of this sum in the public treasury in the shape of a surplus revenue, it would be infinitely better prepared for the war which may never come, than it now is, with annual deficits and overwhelming debts. Of course, neither government can have anything to spare for the reclaiming of waste lands, nor the repeal of obnoxious taxes; and of course the new French Minister of Finance has found it necessary to re-impose the tax on salt,

and several other of the taxes taken off by the Provisional Government in their first days of power.

Amid these complicated difficulties, we may lament, but we cannot wonder, that the populace of Paris should return, at the last election of September, as a defiance to the National Assembly—*Raspail*, the very leader of the tumult of the 15th of May, still a prisoner in the dungeons of Vincennes; and, for the second time, Louis Napoleon.

Remark, however, that this untoward result is to be attributed not to universal suffrage, but to the original error of the electoral districts, to which we have alluded. The number of registered electors for the Department of the Seine, is 406,929. Of these the number that voted on the 20th of September, was but 247,242; out of whom Louis Napoleon obtained the votes of only 110,752, although at the head of the poll.—*Raspail*, 66,963. The actual majority divided their votes among a greater number of moderate republican and conservative candidates than could be returned. We have contended that a minority should share in the representation; but here is a contrivance by which the majority itself is excluded. It should at least have been foreseen, that the majority of a constituency, such as that of Paris, would form a mass too unwieldy for united action, excepting at periods of extraordinary excitement.

France and Germany are now engaged upon the important problem, not so much of universal suffrage, as the question of the best mode of its application. In some way or other every man, and let us add, every woman, as integral elements of the state, exercise and have always exercised an influence (recognized or not) in political affairs. How is that influence to be extended so that it can receive its most beneficial direction? The undoubted object of every community is that of placing its wisest and worthiest at the head of the public administration. How is that object to be attained? Not, certainly, by a form of suffrage in which the mass of the electors are compelled to vote in the dark, being placed in a position in which the best judgment they can form of candidates personally unknown to them is but a blind guess.

The French Republic has hitherto only copied the worst features of the American Constitution, with an exaggeration of its defects. The solution of the problem will ultimately be found, not in the direct cen-

tralization of the suffrages of the masses, but in its wider extension to local institutions, with federal organization.

ANECDOTE OF JOSEPH THE SECOND.—Joseph the Second (Emperor of Germany, succeeded by Francis the Second, and grandfather to Ferdinand, the present Emperor of Austria) was fond of any adventure where he was not recognized as Emperor. But was this philosophy? I think not, for, when it was necessary to sacrifice some imperial caprice to the wishes of the nation, Joseph showed himself but little of the philosopher. Having arrived at Brussels in 1789, in strict incognito, he lived by preference in the delightful palace of Lacken, built many years before by his ancestors. Driving himself one day a very modest equipage, being a carriage to hold two people, with a servant out of livery, in the neighborhood of Brussels; he was overtaken by a shower a short distance after leaving the avenue that surrounded the city to take the road to Lacken. He had not gone two hundred paces when he overtook a pedestrian going the same way, and who made a sign to him that he wished to speak to him. This was an old Belgian soldier. Joseph stopped the horses. "Monsieur," says the pedestrian, "would there be any indiscretion in asking a place beside you?—it would not inconvenience you, as you are alone in your caleche, and would save my uniform, for I am an invalid at the expense of His Majesty." "Let us save the uniform, my good man," says the Emperor, "and place yourself beside me. Where have you been walking?" "Ah," says the soldier, "I have been to see one of my friends, who is one of the royal park-keepers, and have made a most excellent breakfast." "What is it you have had so excellent?" "Guess?" "How should I know—some soup, perhaps?" "Ah, yes—soup indeed, better than that." "A fillet of veal well larded?" "Better than that." "I cannot guess any more," says Joseph. "A pheasant, my worthy sir, a pheasant, taken from the royal preserves," permitting himself to give a slight tap on the imperial shoulder next him. "Taken from the royal preserves, it ought to be much the better," replied the monarch. "So I can assure you it was," answered his companion.

As they approached the town, and the rain still continuing, Joseph asked his passenger where he lived, and where he would get down. "You are too good, sir," says the old soldier, "I shall impose upon your kindness." "No, no," replied the Emperor; "let me know your street." The pedestrian naming the street, requested to know to whom he was so much obliged for such civility as he had received. "Come, it is your turn," says Joseph, "to guess." "You are in the army, without doubt?" "Yes." "Lieutenant?" "Yes, but better than that." "Colonel, perhaps?" "Better than that, I tell you." "Hallo!" says the old soldier, retreating to the corner of the carriage, "Are you a General or Field-Marshal?" "Better than that." "Ah! Heavens! it is the Emperor?" "As you say, so it is."

There was no means of throwing himself at the monarch's feet in the carriage. The old soldier made the most ridiculous excuses for his familiarity, requesting of the Emperor to stop the carriage that he might get down. "No," says the sovereign, "after having eaten my pheasant, you would be too happy, in spite of the rain, to get rid of me so quickly."—*L'Impartial*.

From Bentley's Miscellany.

THE DECISIVE BATTLES OF THE WORLD.

BY PROFESSOR CREASY.

THE BATTLE OF ARBELA, A.D. 331.

"The victory of Charles Martel (at Tours) has immortalized his name, and may justly be reckoned among those few battles of which a contrary event would have essentially varied the drama of the world in all its subsequent scenes; Marathon, ARBELA, the Metaurus, Chalons, and Leipsic."—HALLAM.

"Alexander deserves the glory which he has enjoyed for so many centuries and among all nations; but, what if he had been beaten at Arbela, having the Euphrates, the Tigris, and the deserts in his rear, without any strong places of refuge, nine hundred leagues from Macedonia!"—NAPOLEON.

"Asia beheld with astonishment and awe the uninterrupted progress of a hero, the sweep of whose conquests was as wide and rapid as that of her own barbaric kings, or of the Scythian or Chaldæan hordes; but, far unlike the transient whirlwinds of Asiatic warfare, the advance of the Macedonian leader was no less deliberate than rapid: at every step the Greek power took root, and the language and the civilization of Greece were planted from the shores of the Ægean to the banks of the Indus, from the Caspian and the great Hyrcanian plain to the cataracts of the Nile; to exist actually for nearly a thousand years, and in their effects to endure for ever."—ARNOLD.

THREE of the Six Battles which our great historian, Hallam, selects as the most important in the history of the world, have been the subjects of portions of a series of papers which appeared in this periodical during the first half of the present year. The high authority of Hallam makes the others which he mentions worthy of the same consideration; and, if confirmation of Hallam's judgment respecting Arbela were requisite, such confirmation would be amply supplied by the deliberate opinion of Napoleon as to the decisive effect which a reverse at Arbela would have produced on the career of Alexander; and by the emphatic language in which Arnold has impressed on us how important Alexander's career of conquest has been to the whole human race.

A long and not uninteresting list might be made out of illustrious men, whose characters have been vindicated during recent times from aspersions which for centuries had been thrown on them. The spirit of modern inquiry, and the tendency of modern scholarship, both of which are often said to be solely negative and destructive, have in truth, restored to splendor, and almost created anew, far more than they have assailed with censure, or dismissed from consideration as unreal. The truth of many a brilliant narrative of brilliant exploits has of late years been triumphantly demonstrated, and the shallowness of the sceptical scoffs with which little minds have carped at the great minds of antiquity, has been, in many instances, decisively exposed. The laws, the politics, and the lines of ac-

tion adopted or recommended by eminent men and powerful nations have been examined with keener investigation, and considered with more comprehensive judgment than formerly were brought to bear on these subjects. The result has been at least as often favorable as unfavorable to the persons and the states so scrutinized; and many an oft-repeated slander against both measures and men has thus been silenced, we may hope for ever.

The veracity of Herodotus, the pure patriotism of Pericles, of Demosthenes, and of the Gracchi; the wisdom of Clisthenes and of Licinius as constitutional reformers, may be mentioned at random as facts which recent writers have cleared from unjust suspicion and censure. And it might be easily shown that the defensive tendency which distinguishes the present and recent great writers of Germany, France, and England, has been equally manifested in the spirit in which they have treated the heroes of thought and heroes of action who lived during what we term the Middle Ages, and whom it was so long the fashion to sneer at or neglect.

The name of the victor of Arbela has led to these reflections; for, although the rapidity and extent of Alexander's conquests has through all ages challenged admiration and amazement, the grandeur of genius which he displayed in his schemes of commerce, civilization, and of comprehensive union and unity among nations, has, until lately, been comparatively unhonored. This long-continued depreciation was of early

date. The ancient rhetoricians,—a class of babblers, a school for liars and scandal, as Niebuhr justly termed them,—chose, among the stock themes for their common-places, the character and exploits of Alexander. They had their followers in every age; and, until a very recent period, all who wished to “point a moral or adorn a tale,” about unreasoning ambition, extravagant pride, and the formidable frenzies of free will when leagued with free power, have never failed to blazon forth the so-called madman of Macedonia as one of the most glaring examples. Without doubt, many of these writers adopted with implicit credence traditional ideas, and supposed, with uninquiring philanthropy, that in blackening Alexander they were doing humanity good service. But also, without doubt, many of his assailants, like those of other great men, have been mainly instigated by “that strongest of all antipathies, the antipathy of a second-rate mind to a first-rate one,”* and by the envy which talent often bears to genius.

Arrian, who wrote his history of Alexander, when Hadrian was emperor of the Roman world, and when the spirit of declamation and dogmatism was at its full height, but who was himself, unlike the dreaming pedants of the schools, a statesman and a soldier of practical and proved ability, well rebuked the malevolent aspersions which he heard continually thrown upon the memory of the great conqueror of the East.

And one of the most distinguished soldiers and writers of our own nation, Sir Walter Raleigh, though he failed to estimate justly the full merits of Alexander, has expressed his sense of the grandeur of the part played in the world by “The Great Emathian Conqueror” in language that well deserves quotation:—

“So much hath the spirit of some one man excelled as it hath undertaken and effected the alteration of the greatest states and commonweals, the erection of monarchies, the conquest of kingdoms and empires, guided handfuls of men against multitudes of equal bodily strength, contrived victories beyond all hope and discourse of reason, converted the fearful passions of his own followers into magnanimity, and the valor of his enemies into cowardice; such spirits have been stirred up in sundry ages of the world, and in divers parts thereof, to erect and cast down again, to establish

and to destroy, and to bring all things, persons, and states to the same certain ends, which the infinite spirit of the *Universal*, piercing, moving, and governing all things, hath ordained. Certainly, the things that this king did, were marvellous, and would hardly have been undertaken by any one else: and though his father had determined to have invaded the Lesser Asia, it is like enough that he would have contented himself with some part thereof, and not have discovered the river of Indus, as this man did.”*

A higher authority than either Arrian or Raleigh may now be referred to by those who wish to know the real merit of Alexander as a general, and how far the commonplace assertions are true, that his successes were the mere results of fortunate rashness and unreasoning pugnacity. Napoleon selected Alexander as one of the seven greatest generals whose noble deeds history has handed down to us, and from the study of whose campaigns the principles of war are to be learned. The critique of the greatest conqueror of modern times on the military career of the great conqueror of the old world, is no less graphic than true.

“Alexander crossed the Dardanelles 334, B. C., with an army of about 40,000 men, of which one-eighth was cavalry; he forced the passage of the Granicus in opposition to an army under Memnon, the Greek, who commanded for Darius on the coast of Asia, and he spent the whole of the year 333 in establishing his power in Asia Minor. He was seconded by the Greek colonies, who dwelt on the borders of the Black Sea and on the Mediterranean, and in Sardis, Ephesus, Tarsus, Miletus, &c. The kings of Persia left their provinces and towns to be governed according to their own particular laws. Their empire was a union of confederated states, and did not form one nation; this facilitated its conquest. As Alexander only wished for the throne of the monarch, he easily effected the change, by respecting the customs, manners, and laws of the people, who experienced no change in their condition.

“In the year 332, he met with Darius at the head of 60,000 men, who had taken up a position near Tarsus, on the banks of the Issus, in the province of Cilicia. He defeated him, entered Syria, took Damascus, which contained all the riches of the great king, and laid siege to Tyre. This

* “The historie of the World,” by Sir Walter Raleigh, Knight, p. 648.

* De Stæel.

superb metropolis of the commerce of the world detained him nine months. He took Gaza after a siege of two months; crossed the desert in seven days; entered Pelusium, and Memphis; and founded Alexandria. In less than two years, after two battles and four or five sieges, the coasts of the Black Sea, from Phasis to Byzantium, those of the Mediterranean, as far as Alexandria, all Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt, had submitted to his arms.

"In 331, he repassed the desert, encamped in Tyre, recrossed Syria, entered Damascus, passed the Euphrates and Tigris, and defeated Darius on the field of Arbela, when he was at the head of a still stronger army than that which he commanded on the Issus, and Babylon opened her gates to him. In 330, he overran Susa, and took that city, Persepolis, and Pasarga, which contained the tomb of Cyrus. In 329, he directed his course northward, entered Ecbatana, and extended his conquests to the coasts of the Caspian, punished Bessus, the cowardly assassin of Darius, penetrated into Scythia, and subdued the Scythians. In 328, he forced the passage of the Oxus, received 16,000 recruits from Macedonia, and reduced the neighboring people to subjection. In 327, he crossed the Indus, vanquished Porus in a pitched battle, took him prisoner, and treated him as a king. He contemplated passing the Ganges, but his army refused. He sailed down the Indus, in the year 326, with 800 vessels; having arrived at the ocean, he sent Nearchus with a fleet to run along the coasts of the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf, as far as the mouth of the Euphrates. In 325, he took sixty days in crossing from Gedrosia, entered Keramania, returned to Pasarga, Persepolis, and Susa, and married Statira, the daughter of Darius. In 324, he marched once more to the north, passed Ecbatana, and terminated his career at Babylon."*

The enduring importance of Alexander's conquests is to be estimated not by the duration of his own life and empire, or even by the duration of the kingdoms which his generals after his death formed out of the fragments of that mighty dominion. In every region of the world that he traversed, Alexander planted Greek settlements, and founded cities, in the populations of which the Greek element at once asserted its predominance. Among his successors, the

Seleucidæ and the Ptolemies imitated their great captain in blending schemes of civilization, of commercial intercourse, and of literary and scientific research with all their enterprizes of military aggrandizement, and with all their systems of civil administration. Such was the ascendancy of the Greek genius, so wonderfully comprehensive and assimilating was the cultivation which it introduced, that within thirty years after Alexander crossed the Hellespont, the Greek language was spoken in every country from the shores of Ægæan to the Indus, and also throughout Egypt—not, indeed, wholly to the extirpation of the native dialects, but it became the language of every court, of all literature, of every judicial and political function, and formed a medium of communication among the many myriads of mankind inhabiting these large portions of the old world. Throughout Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt, the Hellenic character that was thus imparted, remained in full vigor down to the time of the Mahometan conquests. The infinite value of this to humanity in the highest and holiest point of view, has often been pointed out, and the workings of the finger of Providence has been gratefully recognized by those who have observed how the early growth and progress of Christianity were aided by that diffusion of the Greek language and civilization throughout Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt, which had been caused by the Macedonian conquest of the East.

In Upper Asia, beyond the Euphrates, the direct and material influence of Greek ascendancy was more short-lived. Yet, during the existence of the Hellenic kingdoms in these regions, especially of the Greek kingdom of Bactria, the modern Bokhara, very important effects were produced on the intellectual tendencies and tastes of the inhabitants of those countries and of the adjacent ones, by the animating contact of the Grecian spirit. Much of Hindoo science and philosophy, much of the literature of the later Persian kingdom of the Arsacidæ, either originated from, or was largely modified by, Grecian influences. So, also, the learning and science of the Arabians was in a far less degree the result of original invention and genius, than it was the reproduction, in an altered form, of the Greek philosophy and the Greek lore, which the Saracenic conquerors acquired together with their acquisition of the provinces, which Alexander had subjugated,

* See Count Montholon's "Memoirs of Napoleon." Vol. XV. No. IV.

nearly a thousand years before the armed disciples of Mahomet commenced their career in the East. It is well known that Western Europe in the Middle Ages drew its philosophy, its arts, and its science, principally from Arabian teachers. And thus we see how the intellectual influence of ancient Greece, poured on the eastern world by Alexander's victories, and then brought back to bear on mediæval Europe by the spread of the Saracenic powers, has exerted its action on the elements of modern civilization by this powerful though indirect channel, as well as by the more obvious effects of the remnants of classic civilization which survived in Italy, Gaul, Britain, and Spain, after the irruption of the Germanic nations.*

These considerations invest the Macedonian triumphs in the East with never-dying interest, such as the most showy and sanguinary successes of mere "low ambition and the pride of kings," however they may dazzle for a moment, can never retain with posterity. Whether the old Persian empire which Cyrus founded could have survived much longer than it did, even if Darius had been victorious at Arbela, may safely be disputed. That ancient dominion, like the Turkish at the present time, labored under every cause of decay and dissolution. The satraps, like the modern pachas, continually rebelled against the central power, and Egypt in particular, was almost always in a state of insurrection against its nominal sovereign. There was no longer any effective central control, or any internal principle of unity fused through the huge mass of the empire, and binding it together. Persia was evidently about to fall, but, had it not been for Alexander's invasion of Asia, she would most probably have fallen beneath some other oriental power, as Media and Babylon had formerly fallen before herself, and as, in after times, the Parthian supremacy gave way to the revived ascendancy of Persia in the East, under the sceptres of the Arsacidæ. A revolution that merely substituted one Eastern power for another, would have been utterly barren and unprofitable to mankind.

Alexander's victory at Arbela not only overthrew an Oriental dynasty, but established European rulers in its stead. It broke the monotony of the Eastern world by the impression of Western energy and

superior civilization; even as England's present mission is to break up the mental and moral stagnation of India and Cathay, by pouring upon and through them the impulsive current of Anglo-Saxon commerce and conquest.

Arbela, the city which has furnished its name to the decisive battle which gave Asia to Alexander, lies more than twenty miles from the actual scene of conflict. The little village, then named Gaugamela, is close to the spot where the armies met, but has ceded the honor of naming the battle to its more euphonious neighbor. Gaugamela is situate in one of the wide plains that lie between the Tigris and the mountains of Kurdistan. A few undulating hillocks diversify the surface of this sandy track; but the ground is generally level, and admirably qualified for the evolutions of cavalry, and also calculated to give the larger of two armies the full advantage of numerical superiority. The Persian king (who before he came to the throne had proved his personal valor as a soldier, and his skill as a general) had wisely selected this region for the third and decisive encounter between his forces and the invader. The previous defeats of his troops, however severe they had been, were not looked on as irreparable. The Granicus had been fought by his Generals rashly and without mutual concert. And, though Darius himself had commanded and been beaten at Issus, that defeat might be attributed to the disadvantageous nature of the ground; where, cooped up between the mountains, the river, and the sea, the numbers of the Persians confused and clogged alike the general's skill and the soldier's prowess, and their very strength had been made their weakness. Here, on the broad plains of Kurdistan, there was scope for Asia's largest host to array its lines, to wheel, to skirmish, to condense or expand its squadrons, to manœuvre, and to charge at will. Should Alexander and his scanty band dare to plunge into that living sea of war, their destruction seemed inevitable.

Darius felt, however, the critical nature to himself as well as to his adversary of the coming encounter. He could not hope to retrieve the consequences of a third overthrow. The great cities of Mesopotamia and Upper Asia, the central provinces of the Persian empire, were certain to be at the mercy of the victor. Darius knew also the Asiatic character well enough to be aware how it yields to the *prestige* of suc-

* See Humboldt's "Cosmos."

cess, and the apparent career of destiny. He felt that the diadem was now either to be firmly replaced on his own brow, or to be irrevocably transferred to the head of his European conqueror. He, therefore, during the long interval left him after the battle of Issus, while Alexander was subjugating Syria and Egypt, assiduously busied himself in selecting the best troops which his vast empire supplied, and in training his varied forces to act together with some uniformity of discipline and system.

The hardy mountaineers of Affghanistan, Bokhara, Khiva, and Thibet, were then, as at present, far different to the generality of Asiatics in warlike spirit and endurance. From these districts, Darius collected large bodies of admirable infantry; and the countries of the modern Kurds and Turcomans supplied, as they do now, squadrons of horsemen, hardy, skilful, bold, and trained to a life of constant activity and warfare.

Contingents also came in from the numerous other provinces that yet obeyed the Great King. Altogether, the horse are said to have been forty thousand, the scythe-bearing chariots two hundred, and the armed elephants fifteen in number. The amount of the infantry is uncertain; but the knowledge which both ancient and modern times supply of the usual character of oriental armies, and of their populations of camp-followers, may warrant us in believing that many myriads were prepared to fight, or to encumber those who fought, for the last Darius.

His great assailant came on against him across the Euphrates and the Tigris, at the head of an army, which Arrian, copying from the memoirs of Macedonian generals, states to have consisted of about forty thousand foot, and seven thousand horse. To Englishmen, who know with what mere handfuls of men our own generals have at Plassy, at Assaye, at Meeanee, and other Indian battles, routed large hosts of Asiatics, the disparity of numbers, that we read of in the victories won by the Macedonians over the Persians, presents nothing incredible. The army which Alexander now led, was wholly composed of veteran troops in the highest possible state of equipment and discipline, enthusiastically devoted to their leader, and full of confidence in his military genius and his victorious destiny. They marched on till within a few miles of the Persian camp, which some intervening hillocks had pre-

viously screened from their view. Then, halting for the night, Alexander encamped his men in the order which they were to take in action, and each bold adventurer in the European host, whether king, general, officer, or simple soldier, made him ready for what each felt would be the world-winning battle of the morrow.

There was deep need of skill as well as of valor on Alexander's side; and few battle-fields have witnessed more consummate generalship, than was now displayed by the Macedonian king. There were no natural barriers by which he could protect his flanks; and not only was he certain to be overlapped on either wing by the vast lines of the Persian army, but there was imminent risk of their circling round him and charging him in the rear while he advanced against their centre. He formed, therefore, a second or reserve line, which was to wheel round if required, or to detach troops to either flank, as the enemy's movements might necessitate; and thus, with their whole army ready at any moment to be thrown into one vast hollow square, the Macedonians advanced in two lines against the enemy, Alexander himself leading on the right wing, and the renowned phalanx forming the centre, while Parmenio commanded on the right.

Great reliance had been placed by the Persian king on the effects of the scythe-bearing chariots. It was designed to launch these against the Macedonian phalanx, and to follow them up by a heavy charge of cavalry, which it was hoped, would find the ranks of the spearmen disordered by the rush of the chariots, and easily destroy this most formidable part of Alexander's force. In front, therefore, of the Persian centre, where Darius took his station, and which it was supposed that the phalanx would attack, the ground had been carefully levelled and smoothed, so as to allow the chariots to charge over it with their full sweep and speed. As the Macedonian army approached the Persian, Alexander found that the front of his whole line barely equalled the front of the Persian centre, so that he was out-flanked on his right by the entire left wing of the enemy, and by their entire right wing on his left. His tactics were to assail some one point of the hostile army, and gain a decisive advantage; while he refused, as far as possible, the encounter along the rest of the line. He, therefore, inclined his order of march to the right, so as to enable his right wing and centre to

come into collision with the enemy on as favorable terms as possible, although the manœuvre might in some respect compromise his left.

The effect of this oblique movement was to bring the phalanx and his own wing nearly beyond the limits of the tract, which the Persians had prepared for the operations of the chariots; and Darius, fearing to lose the benefit of this arm against the most important parts of the Macedonian force, ordered the Scythian and Bactrian cavalry in his extreme left to charge Alexander's right wing in flank, and check its further lateral progress. Against these assailants Alexander sent from his second line some squadrons of horse, supported by a brigade of foot, which, after a warm conflict, beat the Asiatics back. The scythed chariots were now sent by the Persians against the phalanx, but were met half-way by some light armed troops, whom Alexander had specially appointed for the service, and who, wounding the horses and drivers with their missile weapons, and running alongside so as to cut the traces or seize the reins, marred the intended charge; and the few chariots that reached the phalanx, passed harmlessly through the intervals which the spearmen opened for them, and were easily captured in the rear.

A second charge of Persian cavalry was now made against Alexander's right flank; and this also he met and baffled with troops brought up from his second line, while he kept his own guard and the rest of the front line of his wing fresh, and ready to take advantage of the first opportunity for striking a decisive blow. This soon came. A large body of horse who were posted in the Persian left wing nearest to the centre, quitted their station, and rode off to help their comrades in the cavalry fight, that still was going on at the extreme right of Alexander's wing against the detachments from his second line. This made a huge gap in the Persian array, and into this space Alexander instantly charged with his guard and all the cavalry of his wing; and then pressing towards his left, he soon began to make havoc in the left flank of the Persian centre. That centre was now charged in front by the Macedonian phalanx, and soon broke beneath the double shock. Darius hurried from the field; and the news that the king had fled rapidly spread through the Persian army, and all their host, except their right wing, was soon in full flight from the field.

Alexander's eager pursuit of his rival was checked that he might return and relieve his left wing, which had been weakened in order to enable him to gain his advantages on the right and in the centre. That wing had been seriously jeopardized; the Persian right having outflanked and severely pressed it, and a large column of Indian horsemen having actually ridden through the double line of the Macedonian infantry in this quarter of the field, and forced their way to Alexander's camp, which they forthwith plundered, instead of wheeling round to attack other parts of their adversary's army. Still the steady valor of the troops under Parmenio bore up against the heavy pressure of superior numbers, and the approach of their victorious comrades and king, and the news that Darius had fled, soon made the triumph of the European army complete. Slaughtered helplessly, or chased unresistingly, like sheep, Asia's thousands and tens of thousands fell or fled along the encumbered plain. And the night, that closed on that scene of carnage, closed also on the last day of Persian dominion or independence.

MARRIAGES AT CHURCH AND CHAPEL.—The eighth Report of the Registrar-General shows that in the year 1845, of 143,743 marriages, 129,515 were performed according to the rites of the Established Church, and 14,228 not according to those rites; showing that a great number of Dissenters still marry at Church. Of the latter number there were 9,997 marriages in registered places of worship, 3,977 in superintendent registrars' offices, 180 marriages of Jews, and 74 of Quakers. In the first year of the Reports of the Registrar-General (1838) the number of marriages celebrated otherwise than at church was only 4,280; in the fifth year (1841) it was 8,125; in the ninth year (1845) it had increased to 14,228.

EXPENSE OF A MAN-OF-WAR.—By a calculation founded on an Admiralty return, we find the cost of the hull of an eighty-gun liner, to be manned with 750 men, is about 54,000*l.*; rigging, sails, and stores, about 16,005*l.*; ordnance, about 11,732*l.* The pay of officers and men for one year is 19,812*l.*; the cost of victuals, 13,325*l.*; rigging, sails, and stores, 3,201*l.*; wear and tear of hull, 3,660*l.*; wear and tear of ordnance, 468*l.* The estimate for wear and tear under the three last heads is generally assumed at one-fifth, one-fifteenth, and one twenty-fifth, of the original cost.

The average annual expense of wages per head for the crew of a first-rate line-of-battle-ship—*e. g.* the *St. Vincent*—is about 28*l.*; of a war-steamer—*e. g.* the *Sampson*—about 40*l.* Of the 243 ships and vessels in commission on the 1st of January 1838, only 21 were steamers; of the 252 in commission on the 1st of January 1845, 78 were steamers.

From Fraser's Magazine.

PUBLISHERS AND AUTHORS.

It was loftily asserted by Caxton, when he printed his *Booke of Eneydos*, that his work was not intended for the simple, but for the gentle; "not," to borrow his own words, "for a rude, uplandish man, to labor therein, nor read it, but only for a clerke and a noble gentleman, that feelth and understandeth in feats of arms, in love, and in noble chivalry."

These notions of the aristocratic printer have long been as obsolete as his language. In his day, the craft of printing and the profession of publishing were necessarily viewed with a deep respect, of which the altered habits of succeeding generations have changed the grounds. The clergy were, in the earliest era of revived literature, our printers, publishers, and authors; for the three characters were usually conjoined. A clerkly education, a scholastic seclusion, and access to a princely fortune, generally supplied by some patronizing noble, qualified a man in those days for the business of a publisher.

In the sixteenth century, the higher orders were proud to engage in the great work of disseminating the knowledge of which their lordly ancestors had enjoyed only a dim vision. Translations from the classics, chronicles, Italian and French romances, and religious works, were thus given to the English public; to which succeeded primers, catechisms, and dictionaries. Then arose an universal cry for Bibles, followed by a demand for works of science and of law; under the pressure of which, the Holy Scripture first, and by and by the statutes of the realm, put on respectively an English dress, and became intelligible to the people. Wolsey saw the stream of light widening and widening, and, grand and far-sighted as he was, lent his assistance to the high cause: in vain did the Tudor monarchs attempt to restrain the awakened love of letters by giving to individuals the exclusive right of printing; it was too late, even for their power, to quench the thirst of inquiry. They dared not avail themselves of their often abused authority to restrain the publication of works. "There is no law," observes Selden, "to prevent the printing of any book in England, but only a decree of the Star Chamber."

Some beautiful instances of a disinterested promulgation of learning occurred among the earliest printers and publishers, both in England and on the Continent. At Venice there might be seen the celebrated Aldus Manutius, the founder of the Aldine press, and the inventor of the Italic letter, now lecturing on the classics, now retiring to his closet to compose works of great learning, which he printed and dispersed even before the year 1500. Nor did this ornament to his honorable profession derive any pecuniary benefit from his labors. No: he sacrificed, on the contrary, a large fortune in the cause of learning, affording a home and sustenance, at his own cost, to many poor but distinguished contemporaries.

Independently of these lets and hindrances to the accomplishment of their great object, the early publishers were exposed to heavy losses through piracies. Indeed, it was the frequency of such frauds which led to the adoption of symbols,—such as the anchor and dolphin, prefixed by Aldus to his printed works; the two triangles crossed, by William Fagues and Wynkyn de Worde; and the figure 4, which was adopted by Siberel, the celebrated introducer of the art into the University of Cambridge.

Notwithstanding the patronage of the nobility, and the efforts of the clergy, the publication of works was retarded by the troublous state of Europe during the sixteenth century. Ariosto, as is well known, published his *Orlando Furioso* on his own account. After paying all expenses, he realized little more than a shilling a copy for his work. He was unfortunate, moreover, in the patron whom he selected: he dedicated his production to Cardinal Hippolito. "Where," exclaimed the Utilitarian prelate, after perusing the exquisite and soul-stirring poem, "can the man have contrived to pick up such a mass of absurdities?" But the world avenged the poet, and convicted the cardinal—with reverence be it spoken—of stupidity. A brilliant popularity was the portion of Ariosto, even in his earliest days of publication. "There is," wrote the elder Tasso to his aspiring and gifted son, "no mechanic, no girl, no old man, who is satisfied to read

the *Orlando Furioso* once. The poem serves as the solace of the traveller, who, fatigued on his journey, deceives his lassitude by chanting some octaves of this poem. You may hear them sing these stanzas in the streets and in the fields every day." But a dark era was still to be encountered, endured, and surmounted, by the lettered and scientific portion of the community. At Rome, the great Galileo stood to take his trial before a tribunal of inquisitors, as profoundly ignorant as any Cardinal Hippolito. Their self-satisfied folly, aided by superstition, accelerated his doom. "Are these, then, my judges?" was his exclamation. Not many years afterwards that lofty spirit was subdued. Imprisonment, old age, torture, did their work; and the philosopher, after recanting and condemning his own book, retired to his prison for life. Milton visited him there: the beautiful and then prosperous youth, in his dawn of fame, mourned over the dying philosopher, "old and poor." But the worst era for science and for letters was to come. The manuscripts of Galileo, bequeathed to his widow, fell under her confessor's revision; and the pious zeal of that worthy destroyed what the Inquisition had spared. Such parts of those noble writings as he deemed not fitted for the benefit of mankind were committed to the flames. The lesson operated, no doubt, upon thousands; liberty of opinion was no safe luxury in those days. Nevertheless, in England, the art of printing, at least, suffered no blight from persecution; it rose to its highest point under the auspices of Wynkyn de Worde, who, whatever may be his right to dispute with Richard Ferguson the merit of having first made use of the Roman letter in England, is the undoubted founder in this country of the Gothic type. De Worde, whose busy home was to be found at the sign of the Golden Sun, in the parish of St. Bride, Fleet Street, united in his own person all the mechanical portions of a bookmaker. He was a stationer, a bookbinder, a printer, and publisher. Thus occupied, he had no time to waste upon authorship, though, like most of our early printers, he read much, and was a Protestant. The case was otherwise with another printer, Martello, the brother-in-law of Sir Thomas More. This individual could scarcely avoid standing forth as a zealous defender of the old faith: he appears to have been a scholar and a gentleman. His office was to be found at

"Fowls Gate," next to Cheapside, where, from the year 1517 to 1536, he printed and put forth his law books.

Let it not be supposed, however, that, even under the highest patronage, the profession of a publisher and printer, now so generally leading to reputation and wealth, was in those days accompanied by honor only. Persecution raged all over Europe. At Rouen, in one of the dreary recesses of that grim old town, was burned to death the unfortunate Hussee, a printer, whose crime was that he distributed pamphlets advocating the tenets of the Reformed Church.

During the reign of Edward VI. the University of Oxford was doomed to witness that famous conflagration of books, which was intended to annihilate superstition and idolatry, by the destruction of all works containing the insignia of image-worship; all invocations to saints, all names of Popish worthies. Under the act which enforced the destructive measure, the libraries of Westminster and Oxford were ransacked and purified; but, as might be expected, the ore was sacrificed as well as the dross. Pious Protestant zeal destroyed many rare works for the sake of the rich clasps and bindings, which were ordered to be saved: and the university, trembling for its own safety, beheld with silent consternation illuminated manuscripts cast into the flames, any book that had red letters upon it exciting to its height the wrath of the populace. One cannot but sorrow over the enumeration of antiphones, missals, psalms, processions, legends, portuasses, journals, ordinals, for ever lost to society, and to a country but lately awakened to the deep interest of antiquarian lore. The deed was worthy of Puritan times.

During the dark reign of Mary—and, it must also be acknowledged, in that of her brother and predecessor—no works but dry controversial treatises were published; romance and poetry were forgotten: the publishing craft was, therefore, on the decline. Mysteries and moralities were restored, to become the vehicles of amusement combined with moral instruction,—in short, literature suffered by the Reformation: because after the rapine of the monasteries had once begun, the avarice and rapidity of the courtiers brought discredit upon their pretext of zeal for the distribution of knowledge, and furnished the Romanist clergy with a plea for connecting letters with impiety and rapa-

city. Still, however, the publishers continued to be men of influence. Grafton, who was appointed by Edward VI. king's printer, was both a scholar and an author. After printing a magnificent edition of Hall's *Chronicle*, he published his own abridgment of the *Chronicles*; and he held his course, diversified, it must be owned, by occasional imprisonment and threatened penalties in Edward's time, yet on the whole in tolerable security, his domicile being in one of the dissolved monasteries, a house of the Grey Friars, afterwards given by Edward VI. for a school, and known to every Englishman as Christ's Hospital.

The controversy between the Episcopalians and the Puritans in the reign of Elizabeth kept up the trade and the spirits of the printers; and still were they educated men, often preachers, as in the case of Crowley, and sometimes physicians as well as publishers. Life was then longer than it now is; it must have been; there must have been more hours to the day, more minutes to the hour. In modern times, what publisher could have leisure to deliver a sermon, or composure to feel a pulse? In one or two instances, as in that of William Degard, the friend of Milton, we find the occupation of publisher and printer conjoined to that of schoolmaster—a still more arduous destiny. But the patents of printing continued during the reign of Elizabeth in their full force, and, restraining the efforts of the speculative in this branch of trade, were justly regarded as great hardships. It is remarkable, that the introduction of newspapers on the Continent should have preceded the publication of Shakspeare's plays only by a year. Newspapers, as every one knows, were first invented by a French physician, who found it his interest to amuse his patients by telling them the news. The avidity with which his daily gossip was received, engendered the hope that, if collected and printed, it might do more than reconcile his patients to the ever unwelcome visits of their doctor. Monsieur le Docteur Renaudot, for thus was he styled, applied, therefore to Cardinal Richelieu for a patent, and the first number of the *Paris Gazette* appeared in 1622. In 1623 Shakspeare's plays were given to an English public. The original edition, printed by Isaac Taggard and Edward Blount, and still that most prized by book-collectors, fell, however, almost still-born from the press, and in forty years after the publication, only a thousand copies had been

sold. Profit was neither anticipated nor received by the two enterprising friends who rescued these incomparable productions from partial oblivion, or garbled editions; for, as they expressed themselves in their dedication to the Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, they "had but collected them and done an office for the dead, to procure his orphans guardians, without ambition either of self-profit or fame; only to keep the memory of so worthy a friend and fellow alive as was our Shakspeare." Thus, to friendship was owing the preservation of dramas which a century afterwards would have established the reputation of any publisher. But Literature, as it has been well observed, never advanced "until she walked upon her own legs," or, rather, until the system of patronage yielded to the force of public opinion.

Another oppressive and invidious foe to the publisher was the licenser of the press, a functionary against whom Milton was the first to declaim. "Debtors," he remarks in his *Areopagitica*, "and delinquents who walk about without a keeper, but inoffensive books must not stir forth without a visible gaoler." He spoke feelingly;—for his own works were mutilated alike by the stern Republican and the zealous Loyalist.

The halcyon days of literature were, however, at hand. The Augustine age was approaching, when the publisher was no longer to be affrighted by Star Chamber decrees, but destined to act a prominent part in society, was to be rewarded not only by the approval of a lettered few, but by wealth, condition, and power. During the latter part of the seventeenth century it had been deemed a mark of high breeding to affect a contempt for letters, and the unworthy affectation continued until the influence of periodical literature,—the *Spectator* more especially,—rendered light reading fashionable, and from that era authors had no longer their works mutilated; publishers who, in olden times, had sometimes figured in the pillory for an imprudent publication, walked about in independence, and printers flourished in proportion to the liberty and prosperity of their betters.

The qualifications of scholarship and of gentle birth, once thought essential for a publisher, were, it is grievous to reflect, remitted, as the sphere of speculation widened. Our publishers of the eighteenth century were no longer the Martell's, the De Wordes, the Graftons of their day. Thomas Guy, the founder of Guy's Hospi-

tal, was originally a carpenter, and, what was singular, he retained his penurious coarseness of habits even while his heart expanded with benevolence, and when his purse was employed in vast schemes of philanthropy. He began his publishing career with a capital of two hundred pounds only, his province being the supply of Bibles to the University of Oxford; and he was to be seen, in his days of affluence, dining on his shop-counter, an old newspaper for his table-cloth, and dressed in the most ancient and dilapidated of garments. Of greater refinement were the two Churchills, John and Amersham, the publishers of Locke's *Essays*. They were men of a wise liberality; and such was their influence and respectability, that Amersham sat in parliament for Dorchester, and his son intermarried with the noble houses of Warwick and of Strafford. Rivalling Jacob Tonson were the father and son, Bernard and Henry Lintot, the former preserved to posterity in the *Dunciad*. They sprang from an honest yeoman's family at Horsham, in Sussex; nor was it until wealth began to follow their exertions that Bernard endeavored, as most men do in such circumstances, to trace the origin of his race; or, in the contemptuous words of Humphry Warder, the genealogist, he "wanted to turn gentlefolks," and began inquiring after arms. Accordingly, however, to Pope's celebrated letter upon the elder Lintot, gentility was denied to that eminent man. Pope's description of him riding a stone-horse in Windsor Forest, with a "pretty boy" after him, both lent to him by Mr. Oldmixon, the boy being a printer's devil, a "smutty dog yesterday," whose face it took two hours to wash, but "a well-conditioned devil, and very forward in his Cataline," has been eulogized for its graphic humor. The greatest proof of Lintot's dulness was his daring to trust himself to the tender mercies of Pope; yet he threw himself unconsciously open to the great satirist's civil and varnished venom, as he drew the poor man out to expose the worldliness of a vulgar mind. "If my son were but big enough to go on with the business, I would keep," said the publisher, "as good company as Tonson," his "redoubtable rival." His never forgetting his *Miscellany*, but recommending Pope to turn an ode of Horace as they rested under the beech-trees; his observing how good a "Miscellany" the poet might make even at his spare moments; were all food for the little man's latent contempt, and aided, doubtless, to Lintot's

fatal pre-eminence in the *Dunciad*. When Curll and Lintot encounter in the race in honor of the Goddess of Dulness, Lintot is the victor:—

But lofty Lintot in the circle rose;
This prize is mine—who tempt it are my foes.

Perhaps Pope could never forgive—who could?—the pitiful compensation which he received from Lintot for some of his works; the first edition of the *Rape of the Lock* being purchased for seven pounds, *Windsor Forest* for twenty pounds, the *Essay on Criticism* for fifteen. But, on the whole, Pope had, as times went, no reason to complain, his works realizing four thousand two hundred and forty-four pounds.

Pope's dislike to Lintot is said to have been owing chiefly to the unfortunate publisher's being a stout man—a contrast to the small, ill-conditioned Pope—and no scholar:—

Wide as a windmill all his figure spread.

But if Pope's letter be credited, Lintot must have added the insolence of prosperity to the crime of stupidity. Thus freely did he speak of the sacred band of translators, men in those days of far more importance, as far as classical learning went, than in our own:—

"Pray, Mr. Lintot," cried the poet (one may fancy his smile, his wicked eye, his weak voice), "now you talk of translators, what is your method of managing them?"

"Sir," cried the publisher, "these are the saddest pack of rogues in the world; in a hungry fit they'll swear they understand all the languages in the universe. I have known one of them take down a Greek book upon my counter, and cry, 'Ah, this is Hebrew—I must read it from the latter end!'" The bookseller then proceeded to explain his plan of remuneration, which, commencing with a payment of ten shillings a-sheet, was conducted upon a system of astute comparison, not very easy, since the worthy bookseller understood neither Latin, French, nor Italian.

Equally impertinent was Lintot's dealing with the critics. A lean man, "that looked like a very good scholar," presumed to shrug his shoulders over Pope's *Homer*. He was rhapsodizing when Mrs. Lintot summoned her husband to dinner.

"Sir," said Lintot, "will you please to eat a piece of beef with me?"

"Mr. Lintot," said the critic, "I am

sorry you should be at the expense of this poet's book. I am really concerned on your account —"

"Sir, I am much obliged to you. If you can dine upon a piece of beef, together with a slice of pudding —"

"Mr. Lintot, I do not say but Mr. Pope, if he would condescend to advise with men of learning —"

"Sir, the pudding is upon the table, if you choose to go in."

The critic dines, and the pudding excellent, and the poem "commendable."

These few traits of what Pope calls the "genius of Mr. Lintot," ought not, perhaps, to injure very seriously the honest fame of that individual; but Lintot's ignorance shows to how low a standard the pretensions of a publisher had sunk. The *Dunciad*, rescued from the fire by Swift, avenged Pope of some real or suspected wrongs; of one in particular, which our authors may with difficulty forgive, of making too free with the poet's name, especially in giving out, or at any rate insinuating, that Pope was concerned in reviewing and recommending Lintot's *Miscellany*.

The Tonsons, on the other hand, had a high reputation for integrity, and liberality to authors. Jacob Tonson, the publisher of Dryden's works, was the son of a barber-surgeon in Holborn; he commenced his career as a publisher at Gray's Inn gate, in partnership with his brother: Richard Tonson was secretary to the Kit-Cat club, which, composed as it was of the most distinguished heroes and statesmen of the Whig party, thought it not unseemly to meet in Shire Lane, at the house of a pastry cook named Christopher Cat, famous for his mutton-pies. There, associated with wits and politicians, the publisher, mercilessly satirized even by his own Dryden, appeared—

With leering look, bull-necked, and freckled face.

Like Pope, Dryden ascribed another defect to Jacob Tonson,—

With two left legs, and Judas-colored hair:

Alluding to the awkwardness of his gait, to which Pope also referred when he called him in the *Dunciad* "left-legged Tonson." According to Dryden, Tonson assumed to himself the sole merit of ushering what was good into the world, and usurped a monopoly of literary judgment:—

I am the touchstone of all modern wit.
Without my stamp in vain you poets write;
These only purchase ever living fame
That in my *Miscellany* plant their name.

It was Tonson's custom to puff up all his band of authors as great geniuses, or "eminent hands." Such was his expression.

Between Dryden and Jacob Tonson many little squabbles arose, the poet betraying, in the correspondence collected by Malone, the bitterness of a needy man; the publisher, the spirit of a tradesman softened, it is true by good-nature, but still commercial in its essence. Tonson complains of only having received of the translations from Ovid, 1446 lines for fifty guineas, whereas he expected 1518 lines for forty guineas, adding, that he had made a better bargain for Juvenal, which was a more difficult work to translate than Ovid. These stipulations were mitigated by presents of sherry and of melons; but the course between publisher and author, like that of true love, is not always destined to "run smooth." The current coin was at that time as debased as the court morality; and poor Dryden could ill afford to lose any portion of his hard-wrought gains by a chance of alloy, for which deduction would be made. On one occasion he wrote:—"I expect forty pounds in good silver, not such as I had formerly; I am not obliged to take gold, neither will I, nor stay for it above four-and-twenty hours after it is due." But this was nothing: often the well-born poet was ruffled by the insolence of the son of the barber-surgeon. Alas! circumstances bring even the highest low. Dryden, necessitous and broken-spirited, was sometimes obliged to forestall the payments due to him. On one occasion Tonson refused that accommodation, so fatal to the dignity of an author, but, unhappily, so frequently required and given even in the present times. Upon Tonson's refusal, Dryden sent the publisher a very satirical triplet, with this message:—"Tell the dog, he who wrote these lines can write more." The verses enforced a compliance; but, in spite of Dryden's repentant precautions, they got abroad, and were published in *Faction Displayed*, a poem by Shipper, in which Dryden's lines were inserted. They depict the swelling pride of Tonson under the name of "Bibliopolo," and have already been referred to.

In Dr. King's *Anecdotes* it is mentioned that Lord Bolingbroke visiting Dryden one day in Gerard Street, heard another person

coming in. Dryden turned to Bolingbroke and entreated him to remain, since the intruder, he knew, was Tonson. "I have not completed the sheet which I promised him," added the poor slave (that worst of slaves—a literary slave); "and if you leave me unprotected, I shall suffer all the rudeness to which resentment can prompt his tongue." Notwithstanding these traits, indicating a relentless and merciless spirit, Tonson had the reputation of being strictly honest; and his society was courted by men of high attainments. He died a rich bachelor, and adorned his villa at Barn Elms with portraits of the Kit-Cat Club, painted by Kneller. The room in which the club sat in Shire Lane was too low for whole-length portraits, and hence was introduced the "Kit-Cat," as it came to be called; larger than a three-quarter, and long enough to admit of a hand being introduced. Tonson had not only the luxury of seeing his immortal friends gazing at him from the mute canvass every day as he entered his villa, but of giving to the world a splendid volume of their portraits, beginning with that of Kneller and ending with his own, in a gown and cap—the approved undress costume of the literary men of that day—and holding the *Paradise Lost* in his hand. This celebrated work is dedicated to the Duke of Somerset, who set the example of giving his portrait to Mr. Tonson. The bookseller's estate near Ledbury, in Herefordshire, was also one of the results of *Little Jacob's* successful speculations.

At length, the close of a busy and prosperous career arrived: when the publisher was about to heave his last sigh, one regret disturbed that awful moment. What might it be? Was it that he had overcharged an account or beaten down a starving author? That he had hurried on Dryden's malady by his vituperations, or brought on himself a satire from the incomparable pen of the heart-wrung poet, by his relentless bargains? No: such gentle causes for remorse disturbed not the expiring Tonson. "I wish," he said, "I could begin the world over again." He was asked, "Why that expression of fruitless regret?" "Because," he replied, "I should have died worth a hundred thousand pounds, whereas I now die worth only eighty thousand pounds!" Such was the report at the time; but worthy and candid biographers doubt the fact. On the whole, there might be worse men in their vocation than Jacob Tonson. Notwithstanding his taste for puff—that fami-

liar demon of the publisher—notwithstanding his propensity to dignify his "volunteers and adventurers in poetry," into geniuses; for, as Pope observed, "Jacob creates poets as kings do knights, not for their honor, but for their money;"—in spite of these and some other littlenesses, Tonson is allowed to have been a good judge "both of persons and of authors;" to have been very honest and candid, and free from the vulgar ambition of Lintot.

His nephew, Jacob Tonson, pre-deceased him; and his great nephew, Jacob the third, succeeded to his business. And now uprose the character of the family. Mr. Tonson, the publisher of Johnson, was liberal, just, and of amiable manners. A beautiful character has been drawn of this excellent man by Steevens, in the Preface to his edition of Shakspeare. In this, his zeal for the improvement of English literature is eulogized, and his liberality to men of learning. He is said "to have enlarged his mind beyond solicitude about petty losses, and refined it from the desire of unreasonable profit." What a gem in the turbid world of letters! "Nor did he," writes the same panegyrist, "consider the author as an under-agent to the bookseller." Blessings be on his memory!

It will be here seen that the publishers of the eighteenth century generally constituted themselves the critics of the manuscripts which were placed in their hands for consideration; and that the modern innovation of the critical reader—an office essential now from the great mass of publications—was then unknown, or only partially adopted; but it seems doubtful whether that state of affairs were beneficial to letters. Some of our most approved standard works went begging from publisher to publisher, and were only accepted by a sort of accident at last. Prideaux's *Connexion between the Old and New Testament* was, for instance bandied from hand to hand, between five or six booksellers, for two years. By one publisher the author was gravely told that "the subject was dry; it should be enlivened with a little humor." At last Echard recommended it to Tonson. *Robinson Crusoe*, it is well known, ran through the whole trade; finally a bookseller, more knowing than his brethren, published it, and realized a thousand pounds from it. *Tristram Shandy* was offered by Sterne to a bookseller for fifty pounds, and was rejected; Dodsley eventually published it. The public, too, were oftentimes as stupid

as the publishers. For instance, the *Rosciad* was perfectly unsuccessful at first; only ten copies were sold in five days: at length Garrick, finding his own praises in it, patronized it, and then Churchill reaped a harvest from its sale. Gray's *Ode on Eton College*, according to Warton, excited very little attention. What may surprise some people still more is, that Blair's *Sermons* were refused by Strahan the publisher. To turn to another class of works: Burns' *Justice* was sold by its author for a small sum, for he was weary, as he declared, of importuning booksellers to buy it; it now realizes an annual income. Buchan's *Domestic Medicine* was purchased for five pounds.

In light literature the author was also sacrificed to his own penury and eagerness, and to the blindness or cupidity of the publisher. Miss Burney's *Evelina*, all the world can remember, sold for five pounds; *The Wanderer*, by Savage, produced only ten; *The Vicar of Wakefield* was purchased, it is true, for the sum of sixty guineas, but it gained not that success until the *Traveller* had made its author's name famous.

The narrow escape which Fielding had of selling his *Tom Jones* for an "old song," must not be omitted. He had disposed of the copyright of that work for twenty-five pounds, when in great distress. Thomson, however, happening to see the manuscript, advised his friend to get rid of his bargain, promising to introduce the novelist to Andrew Millar, the eminent publisher. Accordingly, Millar and Fielding met at a tavern. "Mr. Fielding," said the publisher, "I always determine on affairs of this sort at once." He paused—the heart of the author sank—Mr. Millar resumed. "I cannot offer more than two hundred pounds for your work." "Two hundred pounds!" cried the delighted Fielding; and rushing from his chair he shook the publisher by the hand, then turning to the bell, summoned the waiter, and ordered two more bottles of wine. Alas, poor Fielding! there was no saving that ill-starred, ill-conditioned, but most interesting man, from ruin.

The independence of Fielding was of short duration; eventually he borrowed upon his works five hundred pounds from Millar, a sum which that generous man cancelled in his will.

One sickens over these details, which bring to the mind the heartache of many a true genius, the disappointment, the de-

gradation, the despair. We dare not dilate on modern days, one trait of which will, perhaps, suffice. *The Pleasures of Hope* were refused by every publisher of London and Edinburgh, and were only published, at last, on condition that the author should be content with the sum of ten pounds only, and that not until a second edition had appeared.

It is not to be marvelled at that some disappointed, and, perhaps, injured authors, took up the subject of supposed or real wrongs. I say, supposed, for it is a vulgar error to assume that authors are always the injured parties; they are generally exacting, often faithless to their engagements, and move in a body militant against their publishers. Be that as it may, in 1738, a pamphlet appeared, entitled *A Letter to the Booksellers on the Method of forming a True Judgment of the Manuscripts of Authors*. One cannot help thinking that such a hint, if judiciously given, might not be without its use even in the present enlightened days.

Contrasted with the catalogue of needy and disappointed authors, there was a constellation, during the last century, of opulent and titled aspirants to fame. Horace Walpole himself graced the profession of a printer, and the establishment of the Strawberry Hill press shows, at least, how fashionable letters had become. "My abbey," he wrote, "is a perfect college or academy. I keep a painter in the house, and a printer." His printing-office was Mrs. Damer's modelling-room; and the crafty Horace rendered small editions of his works valuable as well by their rarity as by their originating from the Strawberry Hill press. He printed of his *Anecdotes of Painting* three hundred copies; the public called for another edition, he then issued six hundred, but the demand was diminished by the ready supply, and the volumes remained on the shelves of their parent author and printer. "I am humbled as an author," said Walpole, "I am vain as a printer."

But the most fastidious and extravagant of authors was the accomplished, the moral Lord Lyttleton. How striking the contrast between this peer and the plebeian authors of his time! Whilst they, trembling with cold, hungry, and despairing, hurried off their manuscripts to the printer's hands, and scattered their productions, as it were, to the winds, careless of fame, solicitous only to live, Lyttleton printed and reprinted

his *Life of Henry II.*, correcting and re-correcting with an anxiety which could not defend him from the blast of Dr. Johnson's criticism. The whole work was printed twice before it was deemed fit for publication, a part of it three times, and the corrections cost the noble author a thousand pounds.

Johnson's *Dictionary*, which was calculated to take three years in its compilation and printing, required eight for its completion, the sum given for it being 1575*l.* scarcely 200*l.* a-year. Out of this Johnson had to pay six assistants, to whom he intrusted the mechanical parts; and of these, great as was his prejudice against their country, five were Scotchmen. Poor Johnson had spent the whole sum received for the copyright, and one hundred pounds more, before this great national work was concluded. When the last sheet was brought in to Mr. Millar the publisher, he exclaimed, "Thank God, I have done with him!" "I am glad," observed the surly Johnson, when told of this, "that he has thanked God for anything." The receipts for his payment were exhibited at the coffee house sale in which the *Dictionary* was produced to the trade.

Much more might be said, nay, a volume might be written, upon the singularly desultory and wretched lives of writers in the eighteenth century, and upon their connexion with publishers. Among those who had the largest army of hack-writers in his pay was Edward Cave, the original reporter and publisher of speeches in parliament, and the founder of *The Gentleman's Magazine*. Cave was a native of Warwickshire, his family residing at Cave-in-the-Hole. He began life as clerk to a collector of excise, and afterwards became a journeyman printer, fulfilling various offices until, in time, he attained sufficient means to set up a printing-office at St. John's Gate, Clerkenwell, a print of which still figures on the cover of the magazine. In 1728 Cave was ordered into the custody of the serjeant-at-arms for reporting the debates to a country newspaper, but he contrived to obtain his liberty, and shortly afterwards formed a plan of publishing a regular series of debates, which he perfected, assisted by William Guthrie, of Geographical memory, one of his *corps de r  serve*. The method of reporting, be it observed in passing, was very laborious. Cave used to station himself, with a friend or two, in different parts of the gallery, and there privately take

down notes of the speeches: When the House rose, these gentlemen all assembled in some neighboring coffee-house, and there connected the disjointed scraps which they had furtively collected.

The Gentleman's Magazine was commenced in 1735, under the title of a *Magazine Extraordinary*, and prizes were offered for the best poem, the first reward being a medal worth ten pounds, having the head of Lady Elizabeth Hastings on the one side and that of James Oglethorpe on the other, with the inscription, "England may challenge the world." It is curious to think how both Lady Elizabeth Hastings and Mr. Oglethorpe, so worthy of renown as they must have been in their day, are now clean out of remembrance. Johnson became an early contributor to *The Gentleman's Magazine*, and imbibed a sincere regard for its publisher. Before he came to London, Johnson had entertained an ardent admiration for the magazine. "He told me," said Boswell, "that when he first saw St. John's Gate, the place where that deservedly-esteemed magazine was originally printed, he beheld it *with deep reverence*." At St. John's Gate were printed, eventually, the *Vanity of Human Wishes* and *Irene*. For the former, published by Dodsley and printed only by Cave, Johnson received merely fifteen guineas. At St. John's Gate was printed also *The Rambler*, that work of extraordinary wisdom, poured forth from the storehouse of one brain only; for, with the exception of a few contributions from Richardson, Mrs. Chapone, Mrs. Carter, and Mrs. Catherine Talbot, Johnson was the sole author of that periodical. Many of these papers were written rapidly, as the moment pressed, without being read over in proof. Well might Cave, pleased with such an accession to his forces, address "Mr. Johnson as the Great Rambler, being the only man who could furnish two such papers in a week besides his other great business." Johnson, after the death of his friend, rewarded this confidence and admiration by the simple, but touching expression, "Poor, dear Cave!" When a man of Johnson's temperament betrays the latent fund of sentiment and feeling at the bottom of that rugged surface, the effect is very striking.

Like Lintot in regard to his *Miscellany*, Cave lived for his *Magazine*. It was the object of his existence; his very power of perception seemed to be absorbed in what related to the "next number." When a

stranger was introduced to the luminary of St. John's Gate he was received by Sylvanus Urban, a *sobriquet* now become immortal, sitting, for Cave rarely condescended to rise to company. An ominous silence of some moments usually succeeded; it was broken by the voice of Urban, who, putting a leaf of the forthcoming number into his visitor's hand, asked his opinion of it: such was his custom. Upon becoming acquainted with Johnson he was anxious to dazzle the new auxiliary with the lustre of his fellow-laborers in the magazine. By Cave the powers and acquirements of Johnson were not, they could not be, comprehended. Moses Browne, who was originally a pen-cutter, and who wrote the *Piscatory Eclogues* in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, having obtained thereby Cave's first prize (those same eclogues delighting many an elderly gentleman of yore,) was, in Urban's eyes, one of the first of men. Browne was also well known for his series of devout contemplations called *Sunday Thoughts*, sneered at by Johnson, who said he thought he should himself write *Monday Thoughts*. Then there was a reputable list of useful and learned contributors. Rev. William Rider, who wrote the papers styled *Philaigyrus*; Mr. Adam Calamy, who distinguished his essays by the superscription, "*A consistent Protestant*;" the antiquary Pegge; and last, not least, the justly celebrated Akenside, and the unhappy Boyse, the author of a poem called the *Deity*. Poor Boyse! his history was a sad exemplification of the improvident man of letters. His life, his death, were consistent. He was a translator, and often by the time that a sheet of his work was done, he had pawned the original. Johnson once redeemed his clothes for him, collecting the sum needful by shillings. Boyse was at that time sitting up in bed, with his arms through holes in the blankets, writing verses to procure the means of existence. According to one account he was found dead in his bed, in the act of writing, a pen in his hand, his arms through the accustomed holes; but Johnson alleges that he was run over by a coach in a state of intoxication—a dismal choice of an exit on either hand! To this goodly crew Johnson was introduced by Cave, at an alehouse near Clerkenwell, where, wrapped up in a horseman's coat, and wearing a bushy, unbecoming wig, the "Great Rambler" beheld his lettered associates, Mr. Moses Browne conspicuous at the head of them, enveloped in a cloud of

tobacco-smoke. The interview with his supposed equals must have been highly gratifying to Johnson's self-complacency. On the whole, however, Johnson prized the shrewd, though rough "Mr. Urban." Not all his want of refinement could conceal Cave's real sagacity, nor his love of an honest profit obliterate his native liberality of feeling. Even his absurdities—his buying an old coach, and a pair of still more ancient horses, and, that he might escape the imputation of pride, his displaying a representation of St. John's Gate by way of arms, on the panel of his carriage,—not even his admiration for *Sunday Thoughts*, could banish from Johnson's heart the conviction of Cave's worth when living, nor, after death, dull the regrets which one feels for the loss of a true, although a provoking friend. "One of the last acts of reason he exerted," said Johnson, when penning Cave's eulogy, "was fondly to press the hand that is now writing this little narrative."

PRUSSIAN EDUCATION AND FREEDOM.—The draft Constitution for Prussia comprehends the following articles relative to the liberty of worship and of instruction:—

"Art. 16. Participation in civil and political rights can in nothing be affected by the religious profession of individuals or their affiliation to any religious society whatever; the accomplishment of civil and political duties shall no longer be affected by these circumstances. Liberty of creed and of worship is guaranteed to all Prussians.

"Art. 17. Every religious society is free and independent before the State, as to its internal affairs and the administration of its revenues. The relations of these societies with their chiefs are free. The promulgation of their ordinances is subjected to no other conditions than any other publication.

"Art. 20. Every one is free to teach and to found educational establishments. Preventive measures are prohibited in this respect. Parents and tutors are held responsible for giving elementary instruction to their children and pupils; but they may have them instructed and brought up where they will, and this right can in no manner be restricted.

"Art. 21. The expense of the establishment, maintenance, and development of the popular schools, is borne by the communes and subsidiarily by the State.

"Art. 22. The public popular schools, and all other public instructional establishments, are placed under the control of special authorities, and are free from all ecclesiastical control.

"Art. 23. A special law concerning teaching regulates the whole of this matter in conformity with the principles thereupon laid down."

The Rhenish Catholic Clergy have declared themselves not satisfied with these. An ultramontane association formed at Cologne has addressed a strong protest to the National Assembly, complaining that the draft of the constitution does not expressly guarantee the inviolability of the property of each church, and that, instead of granting unlimited liberty of teaching, it places the public establishments for instruction under the control of special authorities, and frees them from ecclesiastical authority.

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THE SCHLESWIG AND HOLSTEIN QUESTION.

1. *On the Relations of the Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein to the Crown of Denmark and the German Confederation, and on the Treaty Engagements of the great European Powers in reference thereto.* By Travers Twiss, D.C.L., F.R.S., Fellow of University College, Oxford, and Advocate in Doctor's Commons. London: Longman and Co. 1848.
2. *Germany Unmasked; or Facts and Evidences explanatory of her real Views in seeking to wrest Schleswig from Denmark.* London: Pelham, Richardson, Cornhill. 1848.

THE King of Prussia, and several of the powers composing part of the Germanic Confederation, have invaded the territories of the King of Denmark, under the plea that the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, which have hitherto been regarded as important portions of the kingdom of Denmark, are "male fiefs," and do not admit of the succession of "females." Learned professors have delivered lectures, in various German universities, on the intricacies and niceties of the feudal system; and students have rushed from the lecture-rooms to enforce the doctrines of their teachers, by enrolling themselves in armed bands to attack the territory of a king who will not inscribe on his banners, "No women allowed to govern here." Of all the pretexts for war ever heard of, this is perhaps the most preposterous. A people ruled by absolute princes, who denied to them, until the revolution of France in February last, any of the powers of self-government—trial by jury, or freedom of the press—affect to be incensed at the indignity offered to the feudal law, and alarmed at the possibility that at some interval of time, in some territory in which they have no political authority, or right to interfere, the doctrines relating to "male fiefs" may be disregarded. The trade of central Europe is suspended, fire and sword are carried into the territory of Denmark, lest a princess shall become a queen, and govern Schleswig and Holstein.

It is not that there is at present a queen of Denmark; it is not that the liberties of the people are in danger; it is not that any German expects such a queen to be the leader of an army against Germany; it is not that any law has been passed injurious to the trade, commerce, property or privileges of the people, that the peace of Europe has been broken. It is not even on the fairer ground that the population of Schleswig is partly German, and Holstein

chiefly so, and that a connexion with Germany is therefore more popular with this portion of the inhabitants of the two duchies than their present union with Denmark. The transcendental politicians of Germany have argued the question as one of law and of principle; and we purpose to follow their example: warning the reader that the real object of the Germans is to gain possession of the sea-ports of the two provinces, and thereby so to affect the trade of Hamburg as to force it to surrender its privileges as a free port, and join the Customs Union of the Zoll Verein: a question in which, it is hardly necessary to observe, the merchants of this country are greatly interested.*

In the abstract we are about to give of the historical events in relation to the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, we rely principally on the work of Dr. Twiss; and

* "It is not a little curious that the designs of Germany upon Holstein and Schleswig should have found their greatest degree of development in the self-same year which witnesses the termination of the treaty of trade and navigation between England and the Zoll Verein, and which the latter has already signified through Prussia its intention not to renew upon the same terms. With reference to this point the author of a pamphlet entitled, "The Zoll Verein, with its Baltic Ports and Hamburg" (the wish being father to the thought as regards the latter and Kiel), published in Berlin, in 1845, observes—

"A year is approaching which must be of the greatest consequence for the Zoll Verein, the year 1848. In that year terminates not only the important treaty of navigation concluded between England and the Zoll Verein, and which will hardly be renewed without modifications; but also the treaties which England has entered into with the northern maritime States of Germany: so that in respect as well of the position which the Zoll Verein will be able to assume in its external relations, as of the question whether the northern maritime states shall be still more detached from the Union, the year 1848 must be regarded as one in which a struggle will take place respecting the honor and greatness of the common fatherland—in which the question must be decided whether Germany is to be further divided, or to take a step towards greater unity."—*Germany Unmasked*, p. 17.

if we do not always refer to particular pages of his publication, it is not with a view to evade our obligation to him. He has been compelled, from the nature of his argument, to enter into details and to reply to objections which it is not necessary for us to notice. He has tracked those he dissents from to their innermost recesses, and has left to others to enforce the judgment, which, though it is a merit of his argument to be inevitable, might have been more distinctly delivered. But if this be a defect, it is yet a sign of the candor and impartiality of his examination of the subject.

We may premise, however, and shall subsequently explain, that the whole legal question, without any reference whatever to remote historical facts, is properly determinable by ascertaining in what hands the sovereign power over Holstein and Schleswig is vested.

All that could be strictly required, in order to determine whether the conduct of the new Diet of Germany, or Frankfort Parliament, in this matter, were right or wrong, would be merely to advance sufficient proof to negative its right of sovereignty over the internal affairs of the two duchies. This being done, any discussion on the ancient feudal condition of the duchies, however interesting as illustrating a past state of society and the political changes it has undergone, might with perfect propriety be disregarded in any ultimate conclusion. We cannot concur with Dr. Twiss, that any part of the case gives rise to any "most intricate question," though it may have led "to laborious publicistic researches" among many learned Germans, who, in illustrating the institutions of the darker ages, have been unable to emerge from the mist of their pursuits.

The questions in issue are thus stated by Dr. Twiss:

"The prospective failure of male heirs of the elder royal line of the house of Oldenburg, which has now occupied the throne of Denmark for four complete centuries, has given rise to very animated discussions as to the eventual succession in the duchy of Schleswig upon the extinction of the male line of the elder branch. It has been maintained, that the succession in the duchy is governed by the same law, since 1721, as the succession of the crown of Denmark; and that upon the possible failure of male heirs, the duchy will descend to the female heir of Frederick III., according to the law of succession known as the *lex regia*; whilst, on the other side, it is contended that the duchy has a law of succession distinct from and at variance with the provisions of the *lex regia*, and that

upon the eventual failure of male heirs to the present duke, King Frederick VII. of Denmark, and to his uncle, prince Ferdinand, the duchy will vest in the male heirs of the younger royal line, and to the exclusion of the sons of the sisters of the late king, the first cousin of the present duke. It has further been contended, that the connexion of Schleswig and the duchy of Holstein is more close and fundamental than that which exists between Schleswig and the crown of Denmark; and that as Holstein was an ancient fief of the German empire, and could not vest in females, or be transmitted through females to their male heirs, but must descend to the next heirs of the male line, so Schleswig, being inseparably [?] connected with Holstein, must likewise devolve to the male line, to the exclusion of the female succession."—p. 52.

The Duchy of Schleswig contains 3,444 square miles; its population (1847) 362,000, of which 180,000 are Danes, and 26,000 Frises. Its chief town is Flensburg, of which the population, a few years since, was about 16,500.

The Duchy of Holstein contains 3,223 square miles; its population (1847) 479,364, who are mainly Germans. Its chief town is Altona, which contains upwards of 25,000 inhabitants.

The Duchy of Lauenburg, belonging to Denmark, south of Holstein, is not to be disregarded in this dispute, and contains 462 square miles, and a population of upwards of 30,000.

The form of government existing in Denmark has been thus described:—

"Denmark is an absolute and hereditary monarchy, founded on three fundamental laws,—the Act of Sovereignty of 1661, the King's Law (*Kong Lowen, or Lex Regia*) of 1665, solemnly ratified by the whole nation; and the Native Subject's Law (*Ind fotts retten*) of 1776. As Duke of Holstein and Lauenburg, the king is a member of the German Confederation, holds the tenth rank in point of precedence, has three votes in the full assemblies of the Diet, pays a yearly quota of 2,000 florins (about £90), towards the expenses of the confederation, and furnishes a contingent of 3,900 men to the 10th corps of the confederate army. The sovereign must be of the Augsburg confession of faith, and must uphold its ascendancy in his dominions. He attains his majority on reaching his fourteenth year: descendants in the male line succeed in preference to females. The sovereign fixes the allowances to be made to the members of the royal family of his own free will; all legislative and administrative acts proceed from his own free will and pleasure. The nobility consist of one duke, nineteen counts, and twelve barons. In Holstein and Schleswig, there is an equestrian community of about twenty seignorial families, who enjoy the rents and profits of all the sequestered monastic estates, to the amount of several millions of dollars per annum, and exclude

the remaining moiety of the noble landholders in these provinces from all participation in that revenue. By a decree of May, 1834, the kingdom was divided into four electoral districts, each of which has at present its provincial assembly; these districts are, the Danish islands, which choose from 66 to 70 representatives; Jütland, which chooses from 51 to 55; Schleswig chooses 54, and Holstein 48. The estates of Lauenburg are of ancient date: they consist of the nobility, hierarchy, and representatives of towns, but seldom meet in full assembly, their affairs being despatched by a deputation which holds annual councils under the presidency of a marshal. The four provincial assemblies must be called together at least once in two years: their consent is necessary to all alterations in laws affecting persons or property, public imposts, or requisitions for the national service; and they are allowed to propose laws for the sovereign's adoption, and to lodge complaints against any of the public authorities."—*Penny Cyclopædia*, 1837.

The union of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden was, in 1397, declared by the states of the three kingdoms to be perpetual; but in 1521 Sweden separated itself, and in 1814 Denmark resigned Norway to Sweden, receiving in exchange Swedish Pomerania, which it afterwards exchanged for the duchy of Lauenburg.

The duchy of Schleswig has been part of Denmark for at least 900 years. In the beginning of the 15th century the Emperor Sigismund was called in as arbitrator in a contention respecting it, and his decree contains these words:—

"In his scriptis pronunciamus totam Justiam australem, in qua situata sunt Sleswik, Gottorp et alia loca adripsam Justiam pertinentia una cum sylva Danica et insula Alssen et provincia Frisie, vulgariter Hertden, nuncupata cum omnibus jurbus et pertinentiis suis pertinuisse et pertinere ac pertinere debere jure directi et utilis domini ad regem et regnum Dacie."

At this time, therefore, the head of the German empire recognized Schleswig as a part of the kingdom of Denmark.

In 1440 Count Adolph was invested with the duchy of Schleswig, as an hereditary fief for his services in aiding a successful insurrection of the Danish nobles against King Eric, and placing his nephew Christopher on the throne, and these remarkable words were written in relation to this event—

"The countries of Schleswig and Holstein have to thank King Eric, exclusively, for imposing on them the burthen of a common resistance, which united them together in spite of the difference of their language and their laws. The foundation of

Schleswig-Holstein were then laid, when the spirit of insurrection spread through the territories of King Eric, and when the prelates and nobles of Jutland sought aid from Duke Adolph against the peasantry, who threatened to rise against the dominant orders as their oppressors."

And they were their oppressors. Wherever the feudal system prevailed, the nobles and chief lords governed by the most grinding tyranny; and the true cause of the discontent in Germany at this time is, that the sovereigns of both its larger and its petty principalities have hitherto stifled the expression of public opinion, and have placed stone upon stone over the burning crater of men's thoughts, until an explosion was inevitable. A similar spirit of resistance to the abuses of government prevailed about the same time against Eric in his Kingdom of Sweden, when the army of the peasants, commanded by Engelbert, obtained from him the renunciation of the crown of Sweden—an army which respected the property of private persons, and gave creation to a current proverb, that no man lost so much as the value of a fowl by it.

In 1474 Holstein was created into a duchy. After the death of Christian, his son, John King of Denmark, and his brother Frederick, were elected by the states of Schleswig and Holstein joint dukes, and the duchies were shared in allotments between them, called the *Segeberg* and *Gottorp parts*. On the death of John his son, Christian II., succeeded to the Segeberg portion, but was deprived of his throne by his uncle Frederick, who thus united in himself both the Segeberg and Gottorp portions. Christian III., the successor and heir of Frederick, divided the duchies into three portions—the Sonderbeg, Hadersler, and Gottorp, giving the two last to his brothers, John and Adolph. John died without heirs in 1580, when the Hadersler portion was divided between the king and his brother Adolph. Frederick II., the son of Christian III., gave his brother John a third of the royal part of the duchies, as they were shared before the portion of his uncle fell in; but the estates refused to do homage to him. Thus arose reigning dukes and a proprietary duke. In this disposal of duchies, the Estates were not consulted, and the divisions were made by the mere act of the King of Denmark.

In 1588 the Estates of Schleswig and of Holstein and Stormarns elected Christian IV. for the royal duchies, and Duke Philip of Gottorp for the Gottorp duchies; and

then subsequently the same formality was repeated. In 1608 the Emperor, Rudolph II., as sovereign lord over Holstein, and Christian IV., as sovereign lord of Schleswig, enacted a family statute entailing the succession of the two Gottorp duchies on the eldest heir male of Duke Adolph, by right of primogeniture. In 1650 Frederick III. enacted a similar statute as respected the royal duchies, and thus the right of election by the Estates was abrogated.

One of the consequences of a war between Sweden and Denmark was, that in 1658 the King of Denmark ceded the sovereignty of the Gottorp portion of the duchy of Schleswig to the Duke of Holstein-Gottorp, the duke and his male descendants being released from all feudal obligations; and the King of Denmark ceded to himself, as lord of the royal duchies of Schleswig, the *sovereignty* over it.

In 1660 the ecclesiastics, burghers, and peasants, in opposition to the nobles, succeeded in abolishing the elective title to the crown of Denmark, and in making the crown hereditary in the male and *female* descendants of King Frederick III. This change in the character and succession necessarily altered the mode of succession to every right belonging to the crown—to all its duchies and royal dependencies.

In 1675, Christian V. made the Duke of Holstein-Gottorp prisoner, and compelled him to renounce the sovereignty over the Gottorp duchy of Schleswig. In 1679 the duke was replaced in the sovereignty of the duchy; in 1684 he was again deprived of it and the duchy was declared to be an escheat of the crown, in consequence of the duke's rebellion; in 1689 the sovereignty was restored to the duke, and confirmed to his son in 1700.

In 1709 the King of Denmark and the Duke of Holstein-Gottorp agreed to execute the highest act of sovereignty over the duchies, by agreeing to discontinue the form to convoke a diet, and to convoke merely a committee of prelates and knights, allowing them only a consultative voice.

In 1714, the Duke Frederick of Gottorp having taken part with Charles XII. of Sweden, the King of Denmark took possession of the duchies. In 1720, Prussia and England, united with Denmark and Russia, and the elector of Brunswick Lunenburgh, acceded to the alliance, and guaranteed to Denmark its possession of the Gottorp duchy of Schleswig, *contra quos-*

cumque. The reunion of the Gottorp duchy of Schleswig was ratified by letters patent from Frederick IV. in 1721, and the prelates and nobles, including the dukes of Sonderberg and Augustenberg, did homage to the king as sole possessor of the duchy of Schleswig, and swore allegiance to him and his royal successors, "*secundum tenorem legis regie,*" i.e. his successors according to the law of 1660 regulating the succession of the crown of Denmark. In the oath taken to the king, the preamble recited that the king had thought good to unite the former ducal part of the duchy of Schleswig to the royal part, and to incorporate it again as a portion torn away *injuriâ temporum*, for ever unto the crown.

Strange to say, the criticism of German writers has led to the discussion of the question of whether or not the duchies thus became re-united subject to the rule of succession governing the descent of the crown, or whether the Gottorp portion was re-incorporated with the royal portion, subject to a different law of descent? If Schleswig was a fief of the crown of Denmark, as it undoubtedly was, the superiority of the fief necessarily follows the rule of succession to the crown. It was the *sovereignty* to the Gottorp portion of the duchy that was recovered back in 1720. In the execution of a sovereign power, the succession in 1658 was declared to be in the Duke Frederick and his heirs male; and it was also in the execution of a sovereign power, that the King of Denmark and the Duke of Holstein-Gottorp agreed that the diet should not in future be convoked. These acts were those of that supreme authority, which, in different forms, exists, and must exist, in every state, and is the source of every law. It is perfectly idle, therefore, to seek in the obscurity of the past, for an imaginary authority to control that power which is necessarily itself supreme, and which regards the laws or principles it sets to itself for its own guidance, only so long as such laws or principles are enforced by it.

The Gottorp portion of the duchy of Holstein was ceded to Denmark in the middle of the last century, by the different parties having claims to it. In August, 1806, the empire of Germany was dissolved, and the feudal title of the emperor ceased. Immediately afterwards the King of Denmark (September 2nd, 1806) assumed the sovereignty of it by letters patent, declaring "that the duchy of Holstein,

the Lordship of Pinneburgh, the county of Ranzau, and the town of Altona, should be combined under the general name of the duchy of Holstein, with the common body politic forming the monarchy of Denmark, as in every respect an unseparated portion of them, and consequently subject henceforward to the exclusive and absolute dominion of the crown of Denmark." [*"soumis dès ce moment à notre domination unique et illimitée."*]

It is difficult to conceive what dispute could now arise relating to the succession of these duchies, or what is the value of any one fact relating to them, anterior to the year 1806. At that time the king of Denmark was *sovereign* (we use the word in its strict sense, as possessed of legislative authority) of Schleswig and of Holstein. No power beyond the limits of either duchy had any title to interfere with them, or to regulate their internal government, or to make or impose, or to enforce or control any law relating to their succession.

Of this fact there is no doubt whatever, and it requires the possession of a dull mind not to perceive that any law relating to the succession of the duchy of Holstein, anterior to 1806, can have no valid operation against any law made by the sovereign authority of these duchies in, or subsequent to, that year, even if there were, though there is not, any anterior law opposed to a later one.

So entirely did the sovereignty of Holstein pass to the King of Denmark, that in the edict, dated Fredericksburg, September 2, 1806, these words were used:—

"Les rapports de nos susdits pays avec les ci-devant tribunaux de l'empire Germanique ayant entièrement cessé, nous arrêtons et ordonnons que le Dicastère séant à Glückstadt sous la dénomination de tribunal supérieur du Duché de Holstein, sera à l'avenir la première autorité judiciaire dans le Duché de Holstein *subordonnée à nous seuls*; le tribunal provincial noble continuera toutefois de subsister sous notre seule autorité immédiate, jusqu'à nouvelle disposition."

Then follow these expressions, which are decisive of the source from whence future laws were to come:—

"Quoique par l'annulation de la Constitution Germanique et la suppression des liaisons de nos susdits pays avec l'empire d'Allemagne, les lois de cet empire aient aussi cessé d'y être en vigueur, nous voulons cependant et ordonnons que jusqu'à l'établissement d'une loi générale, au sujet de laquelle nous avons donné les ordres nécessaires,

toutes les affaires judiciaires dans notre Duché de Holstein soient décidées d'après les lois et coutumes suivies dans chaque endroit y compris les règles prescrites par les lois de l'empire, *autant qu'elles concernent le droit criminel et civil*. A quoi un chacun devra se conformer."

In 1815, the King of Denmark joined the Germanic Confederation as possessed of the Duchy of Holstein, which had been part of the German Empire; and when the final Act of Confederation was signed at Venice, May 15, 1820, he held also the duchy of Lauenburg, which he had accepted in exchange for Swedish Pomerania.

Now the first article of the "Acte Finale" declares that "La Confederation Germanique est l'Union fédérale des Princes *souverains* et des villes libres de l'Allemagne, union reposant sur le droit de l'Europe et formée pour le maintien de l'indépendance et de l'*inviolabilité* des Etats qui y sont compris, ainsi que pour la sûreté intérieure et extérieure de l'Allemagne en général;" thus guaranteeing to each other that sovereignty, and the inviolability of that sovereignty, which they had assumed on the dissolution of the Empire.

"The provisions of the 13th article of the Federal Act, by which it was agreed 'That there should be assemblies of estates in all the countries of the Confederation,' reawakened once more the hopes of the nobles of Holstein [of the revival of their ancient privileges], which were, however, again damped by an ordinance of the King of Denmark, of the 9th of August, 1816, in which he announced his intention of establishing a provincial diet for the duchy of Holstein, and his resolution 'not to restore the ancient extinct system, with its equally extinct consequences.' The indisposition of the prelates and knights of Holstein to co-operate with the king, consequent on this announcement, raised great difficulties in the way of carrying into execution the proposed plan of 1816; and at last they took the extreme step of appealing to the Germanic Diet in 1822, on the ground that by the 56th article of the Federal Act it was provided, that 'the Constitution of existing States, recognized as being in vigor, cannot be changed except in a constitutional manner.'" Dr. Twiss, p. 165.

This petition was referred to a committee, and in the report on it the petitioners are described as "*a minority of the prelates and knights*." The king declared through his envoy,—

"That the ancient constitution of Holstein is not in vigor, and consequently, the appeal of the petitioners to the 56th article is inadmissible; but that H. M. the King intends, according to Article

13 of the Federal Act, to grant to the duchy of Holstein a constitution in which, according to the 55th Article of the Federal Act, the ancient rights will, as far as possible, be considered and adapted to the conditions of the present time."—Twiss, p. 167.

In fact, the estates of Holstein were abrogated in 1712, and there was no pretence to refer to them as in existence. But one passage of the report is very important, as proving the unscrupulous character of the later proceedings and declarations of the Diet:—

"That the wish of the petitioners for the consolidation of the union between the duchies of Holstein and Schleswig, under one and the same constitution, which union is said to have been ratified as an essential portion of the privileges of Holstein in 1816—even if other scruples which may be raised against it are dismissed, is, for this reason, not an object to which the Federal Diet can possibly think of extending its intervention, inasmuch as the duchy of Schleswig *does not belong* to the German limits of Federal lands, and consequently, lies altogether beyond the influence of the Confederation."

In 1834, the decree already referred to (ante, p. 528), dividing the kingdom of Denmark into four electoral districts, was promulgated.

In 1842, the question of the succession to the duchies was raised in the Provincial States by M. Kleutze, in the following words:—

"No subject can cause more uneasiness to thoughtful citizens than the uncertainty of the succession of Schleswig-Holstein. Yet this uncertainty exists. It has been shown by the first authorities on public law, that Schleswig-Holstein, in the absence of a distinct and uniform law of succession, may be divided between different princes, but this circumstance has even been discussed in the public journals in such a way as to spread throughout the country generally a fear of the future dismemberment of the territory. The line of conduct for the representatives of Holstein is very clear. The subject altogether concerns the private law of the prince (*Privat Fürsten-recht*). It would be highly inconvenient to utter an opinion about any order of succession, though it should be the most popular and the most desired. One thing is sufficient. May it please the wisdom of the father of our country (*Landsvater*) to secure the welfare of his subjects, and the unity of the state, by establishing an order of succession free from doubt."

The royal commissary undertook to express to the king the wish of the Assembly that the order of succession should be determined. Throughout Germany, books

and pamphlets were published and lectures delivered adverse to the rights of Denmark. In 1846, letters patent fixing the order of succession were issued; and their character cannot be better related than in the moderate and temperate language of the late king himself:—

"TO THE DUKE DECAZES.

"Wigh, August 24, 1846.

"Monsieur le Duc Decazes et de Glucksberg—I shall devote a few more pages to the politics of the day, namely as concerns the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein. You are aware that I found it necessary to refuse the address of the provincial state of Holstein, as it contained a protest against my letter-patent, and against the succession, according to the royal law in Schleswig: that the states have appealed to the Frankfort Diet; or, to express myself better, have communicated the documents to the German Confederation, and that afterwards the majority left the sitting. I convoked the petitioners, I sent another deputy of the University, but the Assembly not being in sufficient number for voting, I dissolved the States on the 12th of the month, declaring that the members who had illicitly left the Assembly were responsible for any delay occasioned in the projects of law submitted to the provincial states.

"This conduct cannot, I am sure, be approved of by the people, and in general, I must congratulate myself on the attachment manifested towards me by the population in the duchies, especially in Schleswig. You know that the revolutionary party has contributed to let loose the lawyers and professors of Germany against me, and that it is very generally credited in Germany that Denmark wishes to conquer Holstein and Lauenburg, and to incorporate those duchies in Denmark. In the first place, the attempt would be madness, and no person could seriously suppose me impolitic enough to undertake it. Your cabinet will not have read that intention in my letter-patent, and it is only a bewildered brain, like that of M. A., that could attribute such an intention to me, and get into a fever upon it. The letter-patent contains only the assertion, founded on equity, that Schleswig, as well as Lauenburg, follow the same succession as the kingdom of Denmark, and it notifies my intention of obtaining the same certainty for every part of the duchy of Holstein, that the integrity of the Danish monarchy may not be altered. Moreover, I promised to the duchy of Schleswig, in the same letter-patent, that that duchy should remain independent in the same relationship as actually exists between that duchy and Holstein, so that I never wished to incorporate Schleswig with the kingdom of Denmark. What motives could there be to induce me to wish to incorporate Holstein and Lauenburg—and did I ever express such a wish? No, assuredly not! The integrity of the Danish monarchy means precisely the same thing as what is understood under integrity of the Prussian monarchy, for example. The latter consists of the kingdom of Prussia, which gives its name to the monarchy, and the different states of

the German Confederation which are under the sceptre of the King of Prussia. Ours consists of the kingdom of Denmark, the duchy of Schleswig, and the duchies of Holstein and Lauenburg, states of the German Confederation. I see no difference, and, notwithstanding this, the Germans stir up their bile, endeavoring to persuade people that I wish to tread upon the rights of Germany, and to deprive them of provinces by the stroke of a pen. Truly, they pay too high a compliment to my power. I do not doubt that the Princes of the Confederation, and of the Diet of Frankfort, will treat these false imputations as they deserve; but meantime they may throw impediments in the determinations of the great powers who, doubtless, will be in favor of the integrity of the Danish monarchy. I have written to the King of Prussia; my minister of foreign affairs will address himself to Prince Metternich, and to the courts of the Tuileries, and St. James's, at the same time that he will proceed in person to St. Petersburg, the bearer of an autograph letter to the Emperor, who, in virtue of treaties, is more directly concerned in these matters. As yet the Emperor Nicholas's reply to the protest of the Duke of Oldenburg is, that he did not wish to interfere in the matter, and I believe that he is well-disposed towards us.

"The visit to the King and Queen of Sweden has contributed to cement the amicable relations between us, which must turn to the advantage of our subjects, and their visit gave me great satisfaction.

"I conclude by repeating, Monsieur le Duc, that I am always,

"Votre toute affectionné,

"CHRISTIAN."

With respect to the succession to the duchies of Schleswig and Lauenburg, there can be no doubt whatever. It is perfectly idle to contend that the relationship and connexion between Holstein and Schleswig should subject the latter to follow an alleged rule of law affecting the former only; for the King of Denmark may more reasonably and more strongly assert that Holstein should, for the same reason, follow the rule of succession relating to Schleswig. As respects Lauenburg, it was received in exchange for Swedish Pomerania, which had been transferred in exchange for Norway, the succession to which depended on the rule governing the succession of the crown of Denmark. So that to deprive the crown of Denmark of Lauenburg, would leave it without any compensation for the loss of Norway; and to deprive it of Holstein, if Lauenburg were retained, would render Lauenburg valueless as an exchange for the territory given to the King of Prussia.

We are not arguing any other question than the one within the competency of the King of Prussia and the princes of the German Confederation to decide. They are

not entitled to regard any matter but the mere legal right of Denmark to its present dominions. Whether Holstein should be attached to Schleswig, or Schleswig to Holstein, or whether the people of Holstein have any reason—and it does not appear they have any—to rebel against the crown of Denmark, are matters not within the competency of the Diet of Germany to interfere with. Its powers are confined to those given in the Final Act of Confederation of 1820. The 56th article declares that, "*Les constitutions d'états existantes, reconnues comme étant en vigueur, ne peuvent être changées que par les voies constitutionnelles.*" It does not declare that their rules of government shall not be changed; but, in order to preserve the peace of Germany, they shall not be changed by violence. The object of it was, no doubt, to secure the joint assistance of all the German princes against their subjects; for, as the princes of Germany were nearly absolute, every change they themselves made of their own free will, would necessarily have been constitutional. The 57th article of the Federal Act, indeed, provides, that the powers given by any institutions of the estates, shall not be construed literally, for it declares that,—

"*La Confédération Germanique étant, à l'exception des villes libres formée par des princes souverains, le principe fondamental de cette union exige que tous les pouvoirs de la souveraineté restent réunis dans le chef suprême du gouvernement, et, que par la constitution des états, le souverain ne puisse être tenu d'admettre leur coopération que dans l'exercice de droits spécialement déterminés.*"

It would be a bold assertion to affirm that any of the late changes in Germany have been constitutional—though it would be a valid argument, founded on this 57th article, if the King of Denmark contended that as the powers of the Diet itself depended on constitutions existing in various states, which were only to be changed "*par les voies constitutionnelles,*" his connexion with the empire has altogether ceased in consequence of the late revolutionary changes, and that the diet is not authorized to call upon him to execute any of the engagements of the Federal Act, or to comply with any demand, if any such were made in the terms of that Act. Were there any tribunal to which this objection to the Diet itself could be partially referred, it might be held valid. It cannot be decided, and the King of Denmark has shown

so much moderation, that his objections to the proceedings of the Diet have been confined to their incompetence to meddle with the internal affairs of his own kingdom. The Diet has no power to make any law for the internal government of any state of the empire, and its functions do not extend beyond the powers given by the Federal Act.

The conduct of the King of Prussia in joining in the attack on Denmark is inexplicable. Is it to be supposed that the powers of Europe would have interfered with the possession of Norway by the crown of Denmark, if Holstein and Schleswig were not to have continued to be parts of Denmark? Or, having violated the treaty of Vienna in the affair of Cracow, does the King of Prussia intend to shake the right of Denmark to possess Lauenburg, having profited by the arrangement through which it was transferred? Or, placing himself at the head of a revolutionary movement, does he believe that he will remain in the possession of territory transferred to him by the treaty of Vienna? The security of his own dominions depends on the faith and honor with which he performs the engagements and treaties, to the conditions of which he is bound—not construing them, even when he has the opportunity, with strictness and astuteness, but in carrying them into execution in all their breadth and extent.

The effect of the letters patent of September 2, 1806 (*ante*, p. 529), was, *ipso facto*, to make the Duchy of Holstein part of the dominions of the crown of Denmark. There was then no German Confederation in existence to interrupt or interfere with the legal effect of them. The Diet was a body subsequently constituted, and it has not, during the last thirty years, pretended to call them into question.

There was no sovereign of Holstein in September, 1806, but the King of Denmark, and he alone, at that time, could make any law relating to the sovereignty of Holstein.

Assume, however, that there was a law of succession in force, at variance with the effect of the letters patent of 1806, how could it have any force or validity to bind the sovereign of that country?

"Supreme power," says Mr. Austin, in his invaluable work on Jurisprudence, "limited by positive law, is a flat contradiction in terms. Unless the imagined restraints were ultimately imposed by a sovereign not in a state of subjection

to a higher or superior sovereign, a series of sovereigns ascending to infinity would govern the imagined community, which is impossible and absurd. Monarchs and sovereign bodies have attempted to oblige themselves or to oblige their successors to their sovereign power. But, spite of the laws which sovereigns have imposed on themselves, or which they have imposed on the successors to their sovereign powers, the position 'that sovereign power is incapable of legal limitation,' will hold universally and without exception. The laws which sovereigns affect to impose upon themselves, or the laws which sovereigns affect to impose on their followers, are merely principles or maxims which they adopt as guides, or which they commend as guides to their successors in sovereign power. A departure by a sovereign or state from a law of the kind in question is not illegal. In every, or almost every, independent political society, there are [such] principles or maxims which the sovereign habitually observes, and which the bulk of society, or the bulk of its influential members, regard with feelings of approbation. Not unfrequently such maxims are expressly adopted, as well as habitually observed, by the sovereign or state. More commonly, they are not expressly adopted by the sovereign or state, but are simply imposed on it by opinions prevalent in the community. Whether they are, however, expressly adopted by the sovereign or state, or are simply imposed on it by opinions prevalent in the community, it is bound or constrained to observe them by merely moral sanctions. Or, (changing the phrase) in case it ventured to deviate from a maxim of the kind in question, it would not and could not incur a legal pain or penalty, but it probably would incur censure, and might chance to meet with resistance from the generality or bulk of the governed."

There was no obstacle, therefore, to the *legality* of the letters patent of the late King of Denmark. Those of 1806 were accepted by the people of Holstein. They did not apply to Schleswig. They distinctly attached Holstein to the Crown of Denmark. The letters patent of 1846 were intended to remove all doubt of the effect of those of 1806. It was for the King of Denmark alone to take care that they did not provoke censure or hostility among his subjects; and, after they were issued, he says, "he may congratulate himself on the attachment manifested towards him by the population of the duchies, especially of Schleswig." That there would be some opposition in Holstein was to be expected; for in that duchy there was a strong revolutionary party, as in other states of Germany. Nevertheless he had a legal right to issue such letters patent, and neither the Diet nor any of the princes of Germany were entitled to interfere.

If the Diet and the King of Prussia de-

clared that there was a part of the territory of Denmark in Schleswig, namely, the port of Flensburg, which they were determined to attach to the German empire, the avowal of an intent to commit so gross an act of aggression would render all discussion needless. This has not been simply avowed; but certain pretences have been advanced, the flimsy character of which it has been our object to explain. We have shown—

1. That Lauenburg was granted in exchange for Pomerania, which had been granted to the King of Denmark on resigning Norway; and that there is no other sovereign except the person who does or shall enjoy the Crown of Denmark who is entitled to it.

2. That Schleswig was always a part of the dominions of the Crown of Denmark, and consequently follows the succession of that Crown.

3. That the sovereignty of Holstein fell to the crown of Denmark on the dissolution of the German empire, and that the legislature or sovereign authority of Denmark is entitled to make any law regulating the succession of it.

4. That the diet of the German Confederation has no power to interfere in the internal affairs of any of the states of the Confederation, except so far as the Act of Federation authorizes it, and that, in this case, such interference is not authorized by the terms of that Act.

By an ordinance issued Jan. 28, 1848, the late King of Denmark, following the example of the King of Prussia, announced his intention to convoke a common legislative assembly of the united states of the kingdom of Denmark, and of the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein; but the revolution of France broke out in February; provisional governments sprung up throughout Europe; and the fortress of Flensburg was seized by the prince of Augustenburg. The Germanic Diet rejected every public duty it had discharged, and carried resolutions, that in case the King of Denmark did not remove his troops from Holstein, force should be employed to secure *the right* (!) of Holstein to a union with Schleswig; that it recognized the provisional government of Schleswig-Holstein, and expected Prussia to take the members of the provisional government and its adherents under its protection.

Prussia has acted according to the wishes of the diet: but who could have expected

the King of Hanover, the constant opponent in our House of Lords of every reform, to be among the chiefs of revolutionary kings!

If it were possible to believe that the change in the government of Holstein desired by the Diet, would lead to beneficial results to its population, it might be excused. But the effect of the course the Diet has taken, if successful, would be merely to add another sovereign prince to the number of those whose petty principalities are the source of evil to all Germany, and to leave its sovereign princes the power to form combinations that will render the proposed union of Germany impossible. Those who know how extensive are the internal changes required in every state of Germany before self-government can prevail; the petty and local jealousies which exist; the influence of families and the claims of birth connected with political power; and the different nationalities which will continue, must feel that the Diet has hitherto accomplished nothing towards amalgamating the heterogeneous compound of governments with which its connexion is acknowledged.

We admit that if any law proposed by the king of Denmark was calculated to excite exasperation and resistance, such an effect would be a sufficient condemnation of it. But the letters patent of the late king, in 1846, representing the order of succession, do not appear to have caused any greater opposition in Holstein than might have been expected, and which, but for proceedings in different parts of Germany, would no doubt have been transitory. The letters patent of 1846, for the meeting of a united Assembly of the Danish states, were issued at a moment when an unfortunate concurrence of circumstances deprived them of the consideration and influence that they might have had. If every State of Germany had not risen against their rulers, those letters might have been accepted and acted on—or, at all events, but for the unjustifiable interference of Prussia and of the Diet, the King of Denmark would have had the opportunity of revoking or of modifying them, when satisfied that they were unacceptable to a large portion of his subjects. This opportunity was not allowed him.

Lastly, let it not be believed that the Duke of Augustenburg or the nobles of Holstein have been the advocates of popular rights. Their former contest with the Danish government was to be exempt from

taxes, and to impose the entire burden of them upon other classes of the population.

Since the above was written, Lord Palmerston is reported to have stated (*Times*, August 26th, 1848), that "the question at issue was not whether Schleswig was to be wrested from the King-duke to whom it belonged; but it was a question complicated in its nature, and of a different kind—namely, what should be the internal administration of Schleswig; whether it should be as the Danish government wished it to be, a constitution combined with Denmark; or, as the German party wished, a constitution

combined with the Duchy of Holstein." This is not accurate. The immediate excuse for the revolt was, it is true, the new constitution, under which representatives of the duchies were to act with the representatives of Denmark: but the real question agitated, apart from the ulterior objects to which we have alluded, is one of succession, and whether or not Holstein shall be inherited by a female descendant of the royal family of Denmark, and Schleswig be attached to Holstein. The dispute would be of no importance to Germany, if it simply involved the question stated by Lord Palmerston.
T. F.

From Fraser's Magazine.

HECTOR BERLIOZ.

THE most disastrous contingent of the failure of Jullien in his late operatic scheme at Drury Lane, was the disappointment which it involved to the distinguished composer Berlioz. Such a balance-sheet as M. Jullien disclosed to the Basinghall commissioners may soon be totally altered and improved in his popular and profitable line of composition; but what can make amends to the aspiring author of orchestral symphonies, overtures, &c. for the mortification of success just within the grasp?—success which only wanted time to confirm, and repetition to popularize it. Let it suffice to Berlioz that he has left a profound impression in England—that he has by the united voice of criticism been recognized as the composer who best responds to the general desire for novelty in the instrumental art, in an age when it is not composition but invention which sleeps. Nature has given him genius—the freshness, the vigor, the lion-port of the great composer are his; but with these gifts on the one hand, he has received from her on the other no slight share of the personal suffering and disappointment in which every distinguished master fulfils his career. The good Dame seems in the case of Berlioz to be completing a very singular romance. It is an old story, however, in the main, this life of genius, in advance of its age, disdaining the lucrative path of the conventional and all its well-paid toils, and devoting itself to things of no present value in order to receive

the homage of posterity. Inseparable from a man who has accomplished what Berlioz has achieved must be the love of fame, that "last infirmity of noble minds." But though his music may be what Keats called his own poetry—"a secretion," composed because he cannot help himself when the fit is on, we should not the less owe him our sympathy. Indeed it is the presence of simple native power in the music of Berlioz, together with the originality of his style, which mark him out as destined to resolve the problem of progress in music, by showing that every thing is permitted to a composer who will dare to be personally responsible for his innovations.

The annals of music combine no more extraordinary series of facts than those which form the history of Berlioz. The laureate student in 1830, in the contest for the prize of counterpoint at the Institute of the fine arts in Paris, he became a master of that science chiefly, it would seem, for the purpose of breaking through its rules. Considering the long time which academies have subsisted, and the very meagre fruits of genius they have produced, the conclusion that something is wanted for a composer beyond the received laws of composition was natural enough, and may have occurred to others who lacked boldness and self-reliance enough to act upon it. The pressure of rules forbidding this or that progression, or resolution of harmony, in opposition to taste and feeling, has long

been an incubus on the imagination. Even Mozart himself seems to have felt it, for in a passage in one of his letters he has these words,—“Rules which we composers, when *we knew nothing better*, so slavishly adhered to.” This is to appreciate at its true value the doctrine of the schools, in restraining the rash and supporting the timid; yet it is plain, that if the past is to be the everlasting type of the future, there can be no progress. Nor, in admitting the composer to be himself his own law, is there any fear that the foundations of the art will become unsettled, and “chaos come again,” in a multiplicity of fantastic and extravagant productions, destitute of symmetry and beauty. Mere extravagance is a monster, not a model; it begins and ends in itself, with no influence to stir a stronger feeling than transient curiosity. But whatever moves the heart of man in music, be its form or style as strange and original as it may, will always be found to possess some secret analogy with those principles of art, whose truth we recognize in the permanent and the classical. Whoever in his music transports us by emotions of grandeur, tenderness, or grace, is certainly a great composer. He may be a bad model for royal academies, and the horror of professors of thorough bass; but, *nascitur non fit*, he is a musician of the true Parnassus breed.

We include in this category the youthful scape-grace Berlioz. At twenty-eight years of age he formed certain theories, which were admirably adapted to his genius, because based upon a most judicious estimate of his own powers. The academies had armed him to encounter themselves with their own weapons, and he possessed the advantage of transgressing in counterpoint with a perfect knowledge of what he was doing. Having passed the usual time in Italy, enjoined by the rules of the academy, for the completion of a laureate's education, —the sojourn being most notably to the advantage of counterpoint, in a country where there is neither counterpoint nor music worthy of the name—where he was idle from want of sympathy, and listened with interest only to the wild strains of the peasants, he returned to Paris to pursue composition on a system of his own. The academy disowned him, and he disowned the academy; the professors wrote and uttered severe criticisms on his productions, and he retorted with witty ridicule. The spirit of youth turns everything to geniality, and Berlioz was only the more confirmed

and fortified by opposition in the course which he had taken.

In the compositions which have subsequently made his fame European—the four great symphonies, the Requiem, the lyric dramas, *Faust*, *Benevenuto Cellini*, &c. we admire the course of a consistent and vigorous originality. No works of art struggle with such difficulty into their true place in public estimation as orchestral compositions of a high order. Repetition alone affects the mass, whose eyes are always slowly opened to real merit. How slow Beethoven's symphonies were to make their way, and in the midst of what calumny and prejudice they struggled on, is well known. Many amateurs have died in the early part of this century, pitying a poor insane composer who was just beginning to make the world merry with his freaks. Time has reversed this judgment; but in multiplying hearers of all sorts, ignorance retains its preponderance, and the path of the heroic composer is just as arduous as it ever was. The successor of Beethoven must be animated by a fortitude equal to his genius.

If we consider the prosperous musicians of the day, Meyerbeer and Mendelssohn, we shall find their good fortune greatly favored by circumstances and position in society. Both members of opulent and distinguished families, in which the art was cherished and cultivated from their infancy—introduced by degrees from the admiration of the private circle to that of the public, they naturally assumed positions of importance at the head of orchestras. But when a young man, unknown to fame, destitute of family influence, and not ushered into public with the favorable prepossessions of a coterie—not even playing any instrument, arrives by his own exertions at the same eminence, it excites wonder and interest. Berlioz, the son of a physician at Grenoble, was sent to Paris to study medicine; accident, however, seems to have determined his bias towards music. He was probably too old to apply himself to the pianoforte, through which composers generally make their first researches in harmony; or he was disinclined to it, as too mechanical an agent for one in pursuit of purely mental music. The guitar, indeed, which in masterly hands is a splendid vehicle of modulation, we know that Berlioz touches; and often at evening, when he was in Rome, the peasant women would collect about him to dance to it. But the possession of this modest practical acquire-

ment in no degree detracts from his honor in penetrating into the profoundest recesses of counterpoint and combination by the invisible steps of a purely mental process. "Who trusts to his fingers," exclaims Weber, alluding to those who compose by the aid of the pianoforte, "is the child of poverty." However, the young man who assayed to take up the pen of Beethoven was a composer, and nothing more—he was no phenomenon of practical skill, and was destined to arrest public attention solely by high composition produced at intervals, and brought into public with great expense, risk, and difficulty.

To succeed Beethoven, it was necessary to do more than Beethoven; and the readiest means to this end offered by opening a new form in the symphony. No works of art become landmarks, in which the author has not escaped the trammels of custom; and we can scarcely be said to know Beethoven in his true, vigorous originality, until he shows himself in his third symphony, the *Eroica*. Berlioz, in his first work, the *Sinfonie fantastique*, developed a new style of composition, introducing new movements, an original orchestration, and a programme. From the very outset he disclaimed the authority of the past, and adopted a design which enabled him to express vividly what he felt strongly. Music has various routes to the same goal. In listening to the symphonies of Mozart and Beethoven, we feel the power of great but vague emotions; but the invention of Berlioz seems to require the stimulus of a scene or situation. We do not expect of music, the inarticulate art, that it shall describe with the precision of painting or poetry; but if a composer, borrowing a sentiment or situation from life, translates it into the language of sound, and so addresses the imagination, the inspiration is legitimate. So rare a thing it is to meet a true composer, that we must be prepared to take him by the hand, let him come upon us in what guise he may.

The consistency and perseverance with which Berlioz has continued in the route which he at first opened, and his success in all that he has yet attempted in music, denote that accurate estimate of his own genius which is a sign of greatness. He knows his own individuality, and has not weakened it by imperfect attempts at universal command in his art. As soon as we become reconciled to the novelty of form in his symphonies, the poetical design of

the composer begins to make its true impression. The *obligato viola* running through *Harold*, which at first appeared so eccentric a conception, embodies an idea which is at once natural and the source of peculiar beauties of effect. In like manner, the chorus introduced into the symphony of *Romeo and Juliet* heightens the instrumental painting, and the work closes with a fine situation expressive of the remorse of the contending factions when too late. To know what is wanting for a composition, and to introduce it, is masterly; in most composers this is the result of habit and experiment, but in Berlioz it is a kind of intuition. Where he acquired his unheard melodies—his new rhythm—those effects of harmonizing and instrumentation which hold the hearer in the utmost suspense and interest to know what he will do next—is inconceivable. No one ever exercised in music a more complete independence. After listening to his compositions successively for several hours, we are sensible only of physical weariness through an exhaustion of the power of attention.

It was a happy occasion for Berlioz when, on the proposed revival of church music in France through the annual execution of a mass by some native composer, his friend, M. de Gasparin, Minister of the Interior, suggested that he should commence by a requiem. The execution being destined to take place among the funeral solemnities of the Revolution of July, offered almost unlimited scope for power and variety of combination. The Government were to pay the expenses, and to leave the composer free in the choice of his materials and mode of dealing with his subject. Berlioz had all his life been wishing to compose a requiem; he had many new ideas to express touching that terrible monkish poem the *Dies Ira*; and now, with what instruments, what performers, what rehearsals he might desire placed at his disposal, he did not quail before the difficulties of an effort which from time to time has been the touchstone and the masterpiece of the greatest composers. He completed his task in three months, a celerity the more surprising as the work contains numerous effects before unimagined in music. The movements which treat the subject of the final consummation include four small choirs of brass instruments, intended to be placed at four angles of the orchestra, combined with numerous drums tuned in different keys and sounding in harmonies. The solemn tones of trombones

and horns echoing and answering from point to point of the church were destined to paint a scene of apocalyptic terror, and to raise the strong emotion appropriate to a military requiem. Bold as the plan was, it fully answered the expectation of its author. An indescribable agitation prevailed among the hearers, many of whom wept like women. The greatest performance of this work took place at the church of St. Eustache in Paris, in the autumn of 1846, by the Association of French Musicians, on the anniversary of the death of Gluck, when the chorus and orchestra numbered nearly seven hundred. This requiem seems to have settled the vexed question of the genius of Berlioz; it extorted the unanimous praise of the journals, its fame rapidly extended to Germany and Russia, and there, and, indeed, wherever else it has been heard, either in fragments or entire, it has excited general admiration.

In every art peculiar difficulties beset the progress to fame, but none are so formidable as those encountered by the composer who does not pander to the base appetite of the vulgar, but lives with fidelity to a lofty ideal. He must depend upon the zeal and ability of many people for the true expression of his ideas, which, the newer they are, require the stricter propriety in the deliverance. How is he to gain the money or the influence necessary to put a great scheme in operation? how to prove in performances casually got up, and at long intervals, the truth of conceptions never before experimented? The progress of a composer, without post or pension, depending absolutely on his own speculations, is always curious and interesting. Had Berlioz merely possessed musical genius it might have been crushed under the difficulties of giving it utterance, but something within him always rose against opposition. Success in the great departments of music, presupposes in the composer many distinguished endowments independent of his art. In producing a work, he is placed in contact with jarring interests and conflicting passions; he may be talked down by the rude voice of authority, or undermined by intrigue; and it is necessary in every stage of rehearsal that he be a man of address, a good general, and an eloquent and ready orator, to triumph over his difficulties. Life in the orchestra is a great school of practical philosophy. The performers, often much overworked, are sensible chiefly of the proportions of their labor and their pay; and if not ex-

actly like their brother in *Romeo and Juliet*, who thinks that "music hath a silver sound because musicians are paid in silver," they have generally little abstract enthusiasm for the art. They have many opportunities of seeing a composer embarrassed, vexed, and disheartened; and happy is it for him if some temporary failure do not afford the most malicious turn to rumor.

In the long run, however, there is sympathy with a bold and original composer even in the orchestra; and Berlioz has found it, though the great labor required in the rehearsing of his works has produced ill-humor in some performers, and a disposition to cavil at merit which they cannot comprehend. Nor were the old composers of the Conservatorio much more liberal. Cherubini being invited to attend the performance of Berlioz's Requiem, replied that it was unnecessary for him to go "to learn what ought *not* to be done." He had hoped to have his own Requiem performed, and could not bear that it should be postponed in favor of another; hence the irritation of that celestial mind.

But events during eighteen years have been so favorable to Berlioz, and the past has so well prepared him for the future, that he is enabled to look on incidents of this kind as pleasantries. He had by his system and doctrines confessedly outraged the professors of the Conservatorio, and had nothing to expect from them but the scourge as often as they could apply it. They lashed away as long as they could, but his powers of endurance fairly exhausted them. It is honorable to the eminent professor and critic Fétis that, after the bitter hostility which once prevailed between him and Berlioz, he has been induced to modify his opinions, and acknowledge in his opponent the existence of genius peculiarly adapted to the progress of music. In Germany, within a few years, opinion on Berlioz has taken a most decided tone. Lobe, the editor of the *Musical Gazette*, and Schumann, the critic and composer of Leipsic, with Dr. Griepenkerl of Brunswick, have recognized with enthusiastic admiration the genius of Berlioz; and with the greater candor and generosity, since it has been at the expense of the German national supremacy in music. Neither the active friendship of the late Mendelssohn and of Meyerbeer, nor the personal attachment of Liszt and Ernst, nor the eulogies of writers, nor the transcendent romance of a career which has introduced Berlioz personally to most of the

sovereigns of Europe, could, however, place him next in his art to Beethoven. A sense of power and achievement—which there is no resisting, because, in fact, it is the truth—could alone do this. When the most experienced hearers find themselves strongly moved under the influence of music of which they can discover no trace or type in known composition, the mystery has but one solution: such originality is unquestionably genius.

Although, from time to time, we heard in England of the great concerts of Berlioz at the Circus, the Opera-house, &c. in Paris, it was impossible to gain from the conflicting testimony of his critics any precise idea of his genius. Prejudice against French music, and the vanity we so liberally ascribe to our neighbors, made us easy dupes to the most unfavorable prepossessions. Judgment was thus warped and in suspense, when Paganini's noble gift of about eight hundred pounds to Berlioz immediately after hearing his symphony of *Harold*, accompanied by a letter, in which he formally recognizes him as the successor of Beethoven, acted as a counterpoise. Such a *plumper* as this outweighed many obscure and unfavorable votes. That Paganini in this generous and noble act was desirous of influencing opinion and quickening the pulse of patronage there can be no doubt; he expressly designates his gift as homage to genius, and assumes the right, which no one has since questioned, of anticipating the award of posterity in behalf of his friend. He was in the arms of death at this moment, and the prophetic character of his word remains unrevoked. Possibly he wished to leave the world with the reputation of some act of disinterested friendship. Berlioz was himself ill when Achille, the son of Paganini, brought him the surprising letter with its surprising gift. Extremely agitated, he hastened as soon as he could to the bath-house in which the violinist, feeble and exhausted to such a degree that his voice was become a whisper, was then residing. The moving scene which took place between them under the circumstances may be imagined. Paganini would have been much mortified in the transaction, had it entailed no consequences beyond an order on Rothschild. Small impression was probably made by it on the characteristic indifference of the Parisians to whatever concerns high composition; but this little episode in the life of Berlioz prepared the Germans, when he afterwards resolved

to pursue musical fame in their genial country, to view him with high consideration and interest.

The fascination of original genius is very great. Paganini, like an Orpheus, was followed throughout his travels by several musicians under the mere magic spell of his talent; and Berlioz reckons in his own experience numerous acts of devoted sympathy and service. To travel concert-giving in Germany with a violin, flute, or some such portable instrument, is easy and often profitable to a skilful artist; but the idea of conveying whole chests of orchestral parts in an expedition through Germany, Hungary, and Russia, to exhibit in the different capitals great symphonies, overtures, choruses, &c. is unprecedented. It never before occurred to a musical Quixote to attempt it; nor could it have been carried out by any man with less confidence in his own powers than experience had given Berlioz. We accordingly see him on the road, travelling by day and night, by land and water, oppressed by cold, heat, and fatigue, encumbered with weighty baggage, settling down in strange places without an acquaintance beyond what his renown had made, without knowing the language of the country, and yet, in spite of many obstacles, accomplishing his object and drawing an atmosphere of sympathy about him. We profess to follow no order in noticing these peregrinations, in which agitations of mind as well as bodily fatigues have had so great share, that it is difficult to conceive how the physical constitution could resist their combined assaults. The endeavor to get up public concerts without adequate means of rehearsal and preparation (for even in Germany there is not always a full command of time for this object), entails immense efforts, responsibility, and risk; yet Fate had somehow befriended Berlioz in all his perils. Fortune favors the brave, and when he has been most discouraged at the rehearsal, he has often won wreaths at the performance. His experience in rehearsing complicated works has instructed him in new expedients for facilitating that process; with time at his command, he produces unequalled music.

We must collect for the amusement of the reader, a few incidents of his last great tour, extending as far as Moscow, as they are narrated in letters addressed to his friend M. Humbert Ferrand. On landing from the steam-boat at Vienna he paid the penalty of being famous in a ludicrous

scene with a custom-house officer. This worthy man gave hopeful indications of the musical enthusiasm of the city; for he no sooner read the name of the composer on his trunks and packages than he exclaimed, "Où est-il? où est-il?" "C'est moi monsieur." "Oh, mon Dieu! Monsieur Berlioz, que vous est-il donc arrivé? Here have we been expecting you for a week past; all our journals have announced your departure from Paris and your concerts at Vienna, and we have been quite uneasy at not seeing you."

Berlioz thanked the honest *douanier*, and could not help thinking that it would be long before he heard any such expression of uneasiness at the gates of Paris.

On the road between Vienna and Pest the Danube had overflowed, the diligence was careering in a lake of mud, and Berlioz was in doubt whether he was to become famous in Hungary by drowning or by his music. Before he set off on his journey he had been sitting up the whole night at Vienna composing his "Hungarian March," the same which has been so greatly applauded in London,—on the advice of an amateur well acquainted with the manners of the country, and who brought him a volume of national airs to select from. "If you wish to please the Hungarians," said he, "you must write some piece on one of their national themes." The sequel justified the advice. Arriving at Pest, he gave himself a little treat in commemoration of his escape from the waters of the Danube; he took a bath, drank two glasses of Tokay, and slept for twenty hours. He was now in a primitive country, where they call a concert *Hangversenye*; literally, the concourse of sounds. His first embarrassment was caused by the political animosity which prevails between the national and the German theatres in Hungary; no German artist, not even a chorus-singer, being permitted to appear at the former, and the German language being wholly proscribed. From this state of things he was at first apprehensive of being unable to unite a sufficient number of violins for his concert, those of the national theatre being few in number. Nevertheless, the concert was well organized, and the promised "Rakoczy March" began to make a sensation from the walls of the city. The editor of one of the Hungarian papers, a certain M. Horwath, unable to contain his curiosity, found out the copyist who was making the

parts for the orchestra; and having looked over the score, hastened to the composer.

"I have seen your score of the march," said he. "Eh bien! Well, I am very doubtful about it. You have begun the theme *piano*, and we are in the habit of hearing it *fortissimo*."

"Yes, from your gipsy musicians. Is it nothing more than that? Be content; I promise that you shall have such a *forte* as you never heard in your life. You should have read better; wait, and see the issue."

"Nevertheless (writes Berlioz), on the day of the concert, and at the moment of producing this *diable de morceau*, I felt a certain anxiety rise in my throat. After a flourish of trumpets on the rhythm of the first bars of the melody, the theme appears executed *piano* by flutes and clarionets, accompanied by the stringed instruments *pizzicato*. At this unexpected opening the hearers were quiet and silent; but when after a long *crescendo* fugued fragments of the subject appeared mixed up with notes of the bass drum like the report of cannon in the distance, an indescribable ferment took place in the hall; and when at last the orchestra dashed into its long-restrained *fortissimo*, there was such an explosion of enthusiasm, that the orchestra was completely overwhelmed. I felt a thrill of terror, and my hair seemed to stiffen on my head. A second time the audience hardly restrained themselves to the end. M. Horwath appeared in his box like a man possessed, and I could hardly forbear laughing as I cast a look at him, which seemed to say, "How do you like your *forte*?"

Retiring, much agitated, from this stormy scene, while quietly wiping his face in the anteroom, a miserably-clad stranger who had been a hearer made his way up to Berlioz, and threw himself into his arms. He could only stammer out a few words; but the exaltation of his patriotism was expressed in so many tears, that the composer could with difficulty refrain from joining his own.

The march is a touchstone of great musical natures. The universal success of this march in particular gives great interest to the circumstances attending its origin. But the most halcyon days in the remembrance of the composer are those which he passed at St. Petersburg where for three months he was constantly at the head of great orchestras and grand choruses. The highest advantage which a composer can desire, namely, the opportunity of having his works thoroughly and efficiently studied, was here at his disposal free of expense or trouble. The amateur ladies who formed the chorus attended punctually every

morning to rehearse, the musicians were full of devotion and good-will, the audience were courteous, brilliant, attentive, and enthusiastic. Criticisms on the productions and genius of Berlioz were written in the public journals by amateurs of high rank. In short, good music was *fashionable*: the composer was presented to the emperor, and both himself and his art received all the distinction they deserved. Tempted by his first success in Russia he went on to Moscow, but music there was not in the same favorable state as at St. Petersburg. With what feelings a composer, who has been *fêted* for three months in a city where his compositions afforded a daily occupation to the musical world, and were produced with luxurious completeness, returns to the indifferent musical life of Paris or London, we may easily conceive. From being the centre of attraction and sympathy, to lose himself again in the busy crowd, until the turn of events offers him some new chance of distinction, is a dreary change. Such alternations of excitement and endurance compose the life of our symphonist, of whose greatness there cannot be a doubt, even had he written no-

thing more than that one piece, the *Offertory* of his *Requiem*.

It was after all the continental success we have described that M. Jullien engaged Berlioz to conduct his operas. The opening prospect was fair, and the temptation to visit a country that has always put the stamp on good music strong. However, the gradual failure of operas at Drury Lane involved Berlioz in the general calamity. There had been no care to bring forward his music until the theatre was on the point of closing, and then it was done without any proper announcement; consequently, the audience were not collected which should have been to hear what, as a performance, must certainly be considered the finest ever heard in England. The band and chorus were immense; and there had been sixteen rehearsals of the former, and more than twenty of the latter. The whole, however, passed away like a dream; not, however, without convincing us of the existence of a great musical genius, hereafter and under more favorable circumstances to be hailed with as general delight in England as elsewhere.

From the Westminster and Foreign Quarterly Review.

GENERAL HISTORY OF THE GREAT PEASANT WAR.

Allgemeine Geschichte des Grossen Bruernkrieges nach handschriftlichen und gedruckten Quellen. (General History of the Great Peasant War, from MS. and printed sources.) By Dr. W. Zimmermann. Henrick Kohler: Stuttgart.

THE great armed insurrection of the German people in the beginning of the sixteenth century, generally known by the name of the "Peasant War," is one of those events on which history has hitherto looked askance; it has received at best but hasty and imperfect notice, and, in many instances, been subjected to the grossest misrepresentation. The slight and contemptuous treatment of this remarkable transaction, compared with the care and labor bestowed on the investigation and record of many occurrences, so far below it in interest and importance, in which persons of a different rank were concerned—is one of the numerous proofs of the small share of sympathy hitherto accorded by historians to the interests and feelings of the mass of the people. They have spoken of this revolt as of some

unaccountable calamity; as if, like great convulsions of nature, it had its origin in causes altogether beyond human knowledge or control; and they have described the excesses attending it, and which, on the side of the peasants at least, were no more than are the almost unfailing concomitants of every war, in a tone that seemed to place the perpetrators altogether beyond the pale of humanity. In more than one instance the professedly historical account has been the mere echo of the cry of savage triumph raised by the victors. Dr. Zimmermann's is, we believe, the first to attempt to trace the whole course of this movement—from the first uneasy stirrings centuries before, to the final outbreak, when the flame of insurrection ran like wildfire over half Europe. He has not waited for its day of triumph

to manifest the warm attachment to popular freedom which breathes through every page, for his work was completed several years ago; and of the zeal and persevering industry with which he has devoted himself to the accomplishment of his laborious task, there can be no doubt. Besides making himself acquainted with all the printed notices of the subject which he found scattered through hundreds of volumes, he has carefully examined and compared the enormous mass of manuscripts relating to it in the public Archives of Stuttgart; as well as in the celebrated collection of the late Prelate, Von Schmidt, which contained numerous narratives of eye-witnesses, and persons immediately concerned. With all respect, however, for the conscientious diligence which has given Dr. Zimmerman's work high value as an authority, we cannot but be sensible of some deficiencies in its execution. In the sixteen hundred large and closely-printed pages, of which it consists, he has rather produced excellent materials for a history, than the history itself. There is a want of clearness and method, of skilful condensation, and of the insight which enables a writer, amidst a perplexing multitude of details, to seize on those most important to the matter in hand.

It would be most unjust, nevertheless, not to keep in mind the extreme difficulties of the subject. In the "Peasant War," every district, every village and hamlet, carried on a war of its own. We have not one history, but an aggregate of almost countless histories. There is no leader of commanding character or talents, who might have stamped his impress upon events, and moulded them to his will; the events do not fall into one channel, but run along in a multitude of small parallel streams. In the causes however that led to this great social convulsion, we find the unity of which we are in search; the miseries of the peasants varied somewhat in degree in different parts of Germany, but were everywhere the same in kind; and the similarity of character and purpose in the several revolts is the more striking, from the absence of concert or organization among the various parties.

In the earlier portion of the middle ages, the German people were possessed of as great a share of freedom as is compatible with the existence of society. Every man lived on his own land, and possessed arms to defend it; woods and waters, and the wild animals that inhabited them, were free to all; their judges were of the people's

own choosing, and the affairs of the community were settled by the votes of the majorities of general assemblies, at which every man had a voice. The same form, or nearly such, subsisted before the recent commotions in several of the smaller cantons of Switzerland; but this coincidence only serves to confirm the remark of which history affords so many illustrations, that "political arrangements have often only a relative and temporary value; and that institutions, which at first favored the advancement of a state, may, at a subsequent period, lay the most destructive hindrances in its way."* But the great changes rendered necessary by the settlement of the German races in many new countries, the establishment of the feudal system, first in the conquered lands, and afterwards in Germany itself, effected an entire revolution in the condition of the people; and the necessities of this new position enabled the chiefs to obtain an influence and authority, which, increasing in extent and permanency, gradually acquired the character of hereditary nobility and royalty. The church, too, threw her weight into the scale, for it was found that the bold and free *war-men* (*Guerre-mans*, or Germans) who could not easily be brought under any other rule, might be governed by spiritual influence.

Before the time of Charlemagne, the owner of four or five farms had to maintain himself in the field for three months: he who had only two, was allowed to associate himself with another of similar means—the one finding the armor and subsistence, the other personal service: of those who possessed but one, three together furnished the expenses, and the fourth went to the field in person: of those who had nothing, every sixth man was taken. But in this reign, in which scarcely a year passed without a campaign, the duties of military service were found so onerous that the people were often glad to enter into a sort of composition with the Count who administered the far-stretching districts, or *gaus* of Germany, to release them occasionally from the duty, on condition of paying him a certain tribute: and the Count, finding this arrangement agreeable and profitable (for with the revenue thus raised he could maintain hired substitutes who were, on all occasions, convenient instruments of his will), used all the means in his power to force it even on

* Hallam.

those who were unwilling—so that the free owner of a small portion of land, who had hitherto lived undisturbed, owning allegiance solely to the emperor, now found himself compelled, to escape innumerable harassings and vexations, to claim the protection of some more powerful neighbor. Some sought shelter in that of the church, and professed themselves the vassals of a bishop, or of some religious establishment: and the widely-spread proverbial saying, that it is good to live under the crosier, seems to prove, that, on the whole, this was considered as the best resource. Dr. Zimmermann, however, who, in truth, carries his abhorrence of priestly rule almost to fanaticism, enters his protest against this common opinion.

“The priest yielded nothing to the noble in cruelty and hardness of heart towards the peasants. Here is one instance which may stand for many:—In the year 1252, the peasants of the village of Chatenay, near Paris, which belonged to the cathedral, had fallen into arrears with their rents and tithes, and the Chapter sent out their men-at-arms, and had the unfortunate people dragged to Paris and shut up in a dungeon near Notre Dame. The dungeon, and the treatment of the prisoners, were such, that in a few days many of them were dead. The noble Blanche, the Queen Regent, offered to be bail for the amount due from the peasants, if the Chapter would set them at liberty. But the priests answered, that if the Chapter thought fit to starve its serfs, that was nobody's business but their own. And to show their defiance of the queen, they forthwith commanded that the wives and children of the peasants should be seized and shut up with them. The dungeon was confined and noisome enough before; and many of these new victims were suffocated before they had time to experience the slower death of hunger. Blanche now went in person, with a party of knights and men-at-arms, to effect their release; but the priests threatened the maledictions of the church on any one who should lay hands upon her property. This terrified the knights, and they drew back; but the queen then advanced alone, and with her own hand, struck the first stroke with a staff on the dungeon door. This put an end to the hesitation of her followers: the door was broken open; and wretched, emaciated, forms of men, and women, and children, tottered forth: and, in order that her act might not be avenged upon them, the queen subsequently bought them, and set them free.”

We give this story for its own sake; but we cannot say we agree with Dr. Zimmermann, that “one instance may stand for many,” or that one instance proves anything at all beyond the one case; and the admitted fact, that both individuals and communities did often voluntarily subject

themselves to ecclesiastical rule, to escape that of the nobles, seems sufficient, without any further evidence, to show that it was generally preferable: we need not allow the vices and corruptions of the church in a later age to blind us to the benefits it conferred upon society at this early period, and without the general conviction of which it could never have risen to the position it occupied. The lowest class of people, who had no possessions of their own, frequently, we are told, received a portion of the church lands to cultivate and maintain themselves on; in return for which, they stipulated to perform certain services. The church might withdraw such lands again at pleasure, “but it lay in the interest of the church not only to leave the cultivators in peaceable possession during their life-time, but even to continue it to their heirs.” Here, then, at least, the interest of the church ran parallel to that of the people.

During the struggle between the temporal and spiritual powers, in the time of the fourth and fifth Henries, the peasantry of Germany appear to have lost the last remnants of their ancient freedom. There was no longer any law but that of open force: The great noble seized, without hesitation, the possessions of the lesser, who was no match for him; and the vassal went and did likewise by his weaker neighbor. It was during this and the two following centuries, that castles shot up in all parts of Germany in almost countless numbers; and their fierce, predatory owners became the terror alike of the peasant and the monk. In the words of an abbot of that time—“what one left another took;—what the caterpillar could not eat was devoured by the grasshopper.”

In Germany, as in most other countries of Europe, the Crusades produced very important changes in the state of the peasantry, and in most instances an amelioration. Sometimes more favorable conditions were granted, in order that estates might be well cultivated in the absence of the lord; sometimes the serfs were emancipated that they might not be tempted to escape, and sometimes they were set free for the good of the master's soul, should he die in the holy war.

The church, in most instances, favored and even urged this measure—Dr. Zimmermann considers from motives of temporal interest, as much as of Christian piety—but it is not easy to see how its temporal interests could have been served by this pre-

tence. The labor of the serfs would have been peculiarly valuable at a time when lands were bestowed upon it in such quantity as made it difficult to find means to cultivate them, and which compelled it to tempt cultivators by new and more favorable conditions of tenancy. Unfortunately, the tide of wealth and power that thus poured in on the Church proved most injurious to her spiritual purity; she soon ceased to make common cause with the poor, or to stand between them and the nobles; but, clothed in purple and fine linen, she took her place among princes, and came to regard the people not so much as objects of care and solicitude, as material to be *exploité* for her own aggrandizement.

But light still shone in the darkness, though "the darkness comprehended it not." In many a hidden spot the spirit of a purer religion still maintained itself in small associations, in which, under various names, it was propagated from age to age, and kept alive the knowledge of, and the opposition to, the corruptions of the Romish priesthood.

"It had become known among men that the Christianity taught by the priests was a very different thing from that of the Gospel; and men now arose who reached the same results by the method of scientific investigation. From the second half of the eleventh century, a disposition manifested itself to examine by the light of reason the mysteries which had been represented as proceeding from God himself. 'If we have attained to faith,' said Anselm, 'it is mere carelessness if we do not endeavor by thought to acquaint ourselves with what that faith contains.' Abelard went further. 'We can believe nothing,' he taught, 'but what we have reasonably apprehended; and it is absurd to preach to others what neither he who preaches nor he who is preached to can possibly understand.' His great pupil, Arnold of Brescia, a disciple also of the doctrine of the Waldenses, attempted a formal religious and political reformation.

"'The worldly riches of the clergy,' he preached, 'are a hindrance to the service of God; and thence proceeds their luxury, their pride, their enormous corruption. If the pope be a follower of Christ, who walked on earth in the lowliest form, he must not sit on a throne.' A great commotion was excited by the preaching of Arnold on the opposite side of the Alps, and a vague feeling arose in thousands of hearts that it was the right word that had been spoken, and this the right man who had spoken it; and when, condemned by the Church as a heretic, he had to fly through the mountains, he taught as he went along the lake, and in the city of Constance, and at Zurich; and the winged seeds of his word were scattered throughout Italy and Switzerland, and into the

very heart of Germany. At Ulm, it was decided at a great meeting, that no one could be excommunicated without being first heard before a civil tribunal, that the order of the state might not be disturbed by the intrigues of priests; and it was declared that those whom the Church excommunicated might nevertheless be good citizens, good Christians, and good men. . . . The doctrines of the brotherly equality of all men, of the inconsistency of slavery with Christianity, of the necessity of a moral life, of a more simple form of worship, and of a diminution of the worldly power of the popes, found acceptance also in France, and along the Rhine; but this reforming movement, as well as the reformer himself, sunk under the persecutions of the Church."

In the fire that consumed the body of Arnold of Brescia, the spirit that should have freed the people from their fetters was thought to have perished also; and the voice of all religious and moral interests was lost for a time amid the clash of arms that accompanied the conflict of the Hohenstaufens with the Papacy.

"But the spirit had disappeared only, and had not perished; and while the whole attention of the Church was fixed upon her contest with the emperors, the doctrine preached by Arnold made its way unseen through mountains and valleys, through castles and towns, and appeared, under various names and forms, in various places among the Alps and Pyrenees, in Swabia and Flanders, on the Rhine and the North Sea, in Bohemia, Moravia, and Poland, and even in England. Among the working-classes in town and country, the poorer citizens, and occasionally those of higher rank, brotherhoods were formed, and the doctrines of Christ were sought for in the New Testament itself."

Those who had taken this step, would not be far off the discovery that the state of bondage in which the common people were held, and by which they were degraded into mere chattels, was irreconcilable with these doctrines; and the rulers, spiritual and temporal, by whom it was maintained, could not but appear in a criminal light. The rise of civil freedom in the cities came also in aid of these efforts at mental emancipation.

"To these the serf fled for refuge from the tyranny of his lord and the outrages of 'fist-law.' Every one who would work at a trade became a burgher; and even the slave, if not claimed within a year and a day by his master, obtained his freedom."

The trades, increasing in numbers from year to year, associated themselves in guilds and companies, and at length demanded from the noble families who had taken up

their abode in the cities, a share in the government of the city. In some cases these claims were wisely conceded, in others they were resisted, and only obtained by the lower class after a fierce struggle. By one means or other the German cities found themselves, towards the end of the fourteenth century, in possession of a high degree of freedom and prosperity; but they appear only as little spots of light in a wide field of darkness. The mass of the population, the tillers of the ground, had sunk, during this and the following century, to the lowest extreme of slavery and wretchedness. The fruits of their industry flowed into the castles and convents in full stream, leaving the producers scarcely enough to support a bare existence. Even on Sundays and holidays they were scarcely allowed any rest from their toil; they could neither possess property, nor take to any trade, nor marry, nor move from the spot where they were born, without the permission of their lords. The claims made on a peasant's time were so numerous that at certain seasons no more than one day in a week was left to himself.

"Countless were the burdens which in the course of centuries had been gradually accumulating on the people. At the death of the owner of an estate, his successor demanded from every peasant his best beast, his best garment, or its value in money; and besides heavy annual taxes to the landlord, and the dues of the church, which in some cases amounted to as much as a sixth or even a fourth of the produce, every possible pretence was laid hold of to wring from him as much as might be of the remainder. Fowls especially play a very prominent part on all occasions, as due to the lord at various seasons of the year, under various names; there were *Fastnacht*-hens, neck-hens, head-hens, and body-hens, as tokens of dependence; so many fowls were to be paid for permission to collect wood in the forests, or drive cattle into them, and so many for every unmarried son; besides hearth-hens, district-hens, wood-hens, &c., too numerous to mention. Then came the great tithe, and the little tithe, and the blood tithe, of fowls, and calves, and lambs, and pigs, and geese, and even bees; and these, as well as forced labor of all kinds, originally proceeded from the compensation paid to the noble for taking on himself the duty of military service."

Attempts were made from time to time to administer some remedies to the manifold disorders of which the German Empire had become the prey; and in the fifteenth century a general impression seems to have gained ground, even among the higher classes, that a reformation, both of church

and state, was imperatively called for. In 1436, the Emperor Sigismund laid a plan for such a reform, and among other matters he speaks with reprobation of the state of bondage in which the peasantry were held, as immoral and unchristian.

"It is an unheard-of thing," he says, "that a Christian man should dare to stand up before God, and say to another, 'thou art mine!' For he who is baptized and believes, let him be noble or ignoble, rich or poor, is counted among the members of Christ's church. Whoever, therefore, calls his fellow-Christian his goods, is no Christian, is against Christ, and all the commandments of God are of no avail to him." Six years after this, Frederick III. formed another project of this kind, but the reform went no further; indeed, the power of the emperors rested on too insecure and hollow a foundation for them to venture on such an attempt, even when they were sincere in desiring it. Not only their more powerful vassals, but the pettiest feudal baron scarcely hesitated to set them at defiance.

"Here were independent princes, who, in such a case, would not have failed to seize the opportunity of enlarging their territories and shaking off their allegiance; there, a throng of counts and barons, who, if they had not the power, had the haughtiness of princes; and beyond these a fierce and unruly knightly order, trusting solely to the strength of their right arms and their rocky fastnesses, professing, indeed, in words, allegiance to the head of the empire, but never thinking of obeying them in act; and scattered about among them lay the wall-encircled cradles of popular freedom, the cities, which by industry, or sagacity, or valor, by conquest or purchase, were every day gaining more and more on the nobles. Of deep importance to the popular cause were the conflicts carried on by the cities against knights and princes and prelates, but these very conflicts increased for the time the misery of the country people. * * * Not a year, often not a month, passed without a feud, without plunder and bloodshed and desolation. The rude soldiers in the hire of the cities, the still ruder robber knights and their men-at-arms, raged across the open country like wolves, and did not think it beneath their noble birth to pursue the trade of the highwayman in the most systematic manner; and, indeed, since their numbers had increased so greatly, by what means could this class, who despised agriculture and all peaceful occupations, maintain themselves, if not at the expense of the industrious citizen and peasant?"

It is not easy to point to any precise period or event as the commencement of the Peasant War, for insurrections of more or

less importance had been of almost constant occurrence from the eleventh century, or even earlier, from the peninsula of Jutland to the Pyrenees, and from the marshes of the North Sea to the furthest limits of Hungary. Among the most prominent of these, about the beginning of the fifteenth century, was the insurrection of the peasants of Friesland, the "cheese brothers," who carried on the banner the significant emblems of a loaf and cheese; that of the "*Bundschuh*" or clouted shoe, in the bishopric of Spire; that of "poor Conrad," a *nom-de-guerre* adopted by the insurgent peasants of Wurtemberg, like that of Captain Rock in Ireland; and one which took place in Hungary about the same time (1514), which was attended with some circumstances worthy of the attention of those historians who would bring against the peasants especially the charge of barbarity. We take the account from Dr. Zimmermann, but for the sake of economizing space we give it in our own words.

At the Easter Festival of the year 1514, a crusade against the Turks had been preached from every altar in Hungary, and slaves and serfs thronged to the sacred banner; for by this means they could obtain, not only remission of sins, but the further reward of personal freedom, bestowed always on such as took the cross. In the course of twenty days, sixty thousand crusaders, mostly from this class, were assembled under the guidance of one George Doscka, a man who, though sprung from the lowest order of the people, had, by his valor and military talents, raised himself not only to great renown, but also gained admission to the rank of the nobility—a promotion permitted by the Hungarian laws in such cases.

The nobles, in general, had seen, with the greatest dissatisfaction, this defection of their serfs, and they now interfered and attempted to drive back the new crusaders to the soil to which they had been attached. Thereupon two of the humbler order of the clergy, who had been among the most zealous promoters of the crusade, began to exhort the people in passionate terms to resist this tyranny, by which their lords would claim a right, not only over the bodies of the people, but even over their immortal souls; and they urged them, rather than submit, to turn their arms against those who, in this proceeding, had shown themselves worse than the infidels. In Hungary, as elsewhere, a deep discontent

against the nobles had been accumulating and smouldering for centuries in the breasts of the peasantry; and this body, like all crusading armies, contained a great deal of combustible material. The words of the priests acted as sparks to kindle the whole mass into flame. The people openly threw off the yoke of the nobility: George Doscka who, unlike most *parvenus*, appears to have sympathized strongly with the class from which he had sprung, placed himself at their head; messengers were dispatched unto all the provinces to call on the serfs to join in the revolt;—every night the fiery glare of burning castles gave token that the slaves had burst their fetters, and that a fearful spirit was abroad. The war lasted for months; above four hundred of the nobles fell victims to the revenge of the people, and in many instances, their wives and daughters had to suffer for the outrage and insult which, for many ages, had been the daily portion of the wives and daughters of the peasants. They became almost paralyzed by terror; but at length John Boromeszsza endeavored to rally the sunken courage of his order, and by his advice, John Zapogla, the Waiwode of Transylvania, was summoned to their assistance; and a large body of troops under him, with the help of the citizens of Buda, attacked and, after a desperate conflict, took the principal camp of the insurgents. Their leader was absent at this time, having gone with a band of peasants to the attack of a strong fortress, and the contest was still protracted for some time; but the discipline and martial experience of the iron-clad knights and nobles at length gained the victory over the ill-armed and tumultuous peasants. George Doscka was overpowered, probably by the treachery of some of his followers; but when all was over, with a spirit still unconquered, "waving his sword above his head, he plunged into the thickest throng of his foes, to find the death which he preferred to captivity." This hope, however, was denied to him, for he was surrounded and taken alive. His brother, too, was taken with him; and though Doscka would not utter a word to mitigate the rage of his enemies against himself, he stooped to implore their mercy for his brother. The reply was the striking off the head of his brother before his face, but he himself was reserved for a fiendish refinement of cruelty. He was kept in prison whilst, by order of Zapogla, an iron throne was made, and, on the day appointed for

his punishment, he was brought out loaded with chains and detained while it was being made *red hot*! On this he was forced down by his executioners, a sceptre of glowing iron was placed in his hands, and a burning crown upon his head.

Nine of his companions, who had been kept without food till they were nearly starved, were now brought out, and with swords and lances driven up to the place of torture, where it was yelled aloud to them, that they might save their lives if they would consent to eat the flesh of their leader. Three of them preferred death, the other six attempted the horrible meal before the life of Doscka was extinct.

Sixty thousand peasants perished in this revolt, either in the battles or the subsequent massacres, and the same year the magnates held a diet at Buda, in which they declared that all their burdens should be increased, and that slavery should be *universally* and *eternally* their portion.

The commencement of the series of insurrections to which collectively the name of the Peasant War has usually been attached, dated from an apparently trivial occurrence that took place about ten years after, in a district of Upper Swabia.

"There, where the Black Forest extends South-eastward to the valley of the Upper Rhine, in the ancient Alpgau, lay the Landgravate of Stuhlingen; above it, the Austrian county of Hauenstein; below it, the Landgravate Furstenberg, with the sources of the Danube, which included all the rest of the country south of the Black Forest. The Landgraf of Stuhlingen at that time was Sigismund the Second, called 'von Lupfen,' from his hereditary castle of Hohenlupfen, on the Bar. But it was his consort, Helena of Rapolstein, who is said to have been the immediate occasion of the insurrection, by insisting on the peasants collecting snail-shells and wild strawberries for her on holidays and during harvest time. It does not seem necessary to doubt the truth of this story from the trivial character of the occurrence, for in great political crises, incidents that appear equally unimportant have frequently led to consequences as great and as unforeseen.

"It was on the festival of St. John the Baptist that the long-tried patience of the peasants of Stuhlingen gave way, and their murmurings broke forth into action; and having induced the peasants of neighboring villages to join them, so that they amounted to about six hundred, they prepared for open resistance. They chose for their chief one Hans Muller of Bulgenbach, who had had some experience in war, having been engaged in several campaigns against King Francis the 1st of France, and who had also many personal advantages, amongst which not the least was a gift of natural eloquence. They then made themselves a standard—black, red,

and yellow—the colors of the empire; and on the 24th of August, St. Bartholomew's day, they marched twelve hundred strong to Waldshut, where there was a church wake. There the peasants of that neighborhood joined them, and after some discussion they formed an association, which they called 'The Evangelical Brotherhood.' Every one who wished to enter it was to contribute one *batz* a week, to form a common fund for the payment of messengers whom they were to send with letters far and near over Germany to rouse the peasantry and gain them over to the cause. They wrote and sent secret messages to Swabia, Franconia, Thuringia, and Alsace, and to the peasants down the Rhine and on the Moselle; declaring that they would no longer render any obedience to their lords; indeed, that they would have no lords but the Emperor, to whom they would pay tribute, but he should not further interfere with them; and that they would have all castles, convents, and so-called religious houses, destroyed."

It still remains a matter of doubt who among these men was capable of forming so bold a plan as that of uniting the peasants of Germany in one common effort for one end, or who were the writers of the letters so frequently mentioned. But, from whatever cause, it does not appear that they were successful in forming any extensive combination. Nothing like a common plan can be traced in their operations; although the character and purpose of the almost countless insurrections are so similar, that they are scarcely distinguishable from one another. In nearly every instance the peasants drew up a written list of their grievances, with a view to their peaceable accommodation; but these were afterwards merged in the celebrated Twelve Articles, which were universally adopted as the expression of the feelings and wishes of the common people. The authorship of these articles has remained a secret; for though they have been often attributed to Thomas Muntzer, their style is totally different from that of any of his writings. Their tone is mild and moderate to a degree that, under the circumstances, is truly astonishing; they ask no more than the barest justice, and they exhibit not a trace of that bitterness of feeling towards opponents so strikingly and painfully conspicuous in the productions of most of the educated reformers of the period. These Twelve Articles were sent to Luther for his approbation, and in his answer he made some attempts to bring about a peaceful accommodation between the parties; but it soon appeared that his real sympathies were far less with the peasants than with their oppressors, amongst whom were many whom

he relied on as the chief supporters of the Protestant party, and it is sufficiently obvious that it was now the purpose of that party to sacrifice the pure religious principles of the Reformation to the success of the political movement to which it had given rise.

We cannot, without danger of wearying our readers, attempt to follow Dr. Zimmerman in his narrative of the tedious and desultory course of the Peasant War. The body of insurgents, of which the peasants of Stuhlingen formed the nucleus, was afterwards known as the Hegau and Black Forest Troop; and, besides this, we hear of separate troops of East Franconia, of Rothenburg, of the Odenwald, of Hohenlohe, of the Upper and Lower Rhine, of the Upper Tauber, and others, whose mere names would fill a page. The general policy pursued by their antagonists was to affect to negotiate, until they could find a favorable opportunity to fall on and crush them; and it was not till after repeated experience of the treachery of the princes and nobles, that the peasants were induced to try their strength with them in open conflict, or retaliate the slaughter of their comrades by the burning of castles.

The abbeys and convents were, in many instances, attacked and destroyed without any such motive; but in these cases the impelling cause was evidently religious fanaticism, and there is no mention of cruelty towards the inmates.

During their brief hour of triumph, the peasants, or probably a few men of education and sagacity who had joined them, formed a project for the consolidation and general reform of the German empire, in many points strikingly resembling that which is now taking place; and it is worthy of remark that their plan, though democratic in its tendencies, is perfectly free from the rashness and insane violence that would have been inevitable had the charges brought against them been well founded.

Gradually, however, as the hopes by which the insurgents had originally been animated faded away, when the failure of the premature and ill-judged attempt of Francis von Sickingen, the death of Ulrich von Hutten, and most of all the entire desertion of the leading Protestants, deprived them of all chance of the co-operation of the middle classes, the insurrection assumed a darker and fiercer aspect, and men of altogether different character and purposes began to take a prominent part in it. Of

such as these were the actors in the sanguinary scene at Weinsperg, so often spoken of as an instance of unexampled ferocity, in which, after the place had been taken by storm, several noblemen were put to death by a cruel, but not then an uncommon military punishment. It appears, however, that this was the act of a small party, and performed without the knowledge or consent of the majority. We may add, also, that after the final defeat of the peasants, the fate of Count Helfenstein and his companions was avenged by the *slow roasting* to death of those who had been concerned in it. The victims were attached to a tree, round which the fire was made, by a chain long enough to permit them to leap about in their agony, so as to protract it to the utmost possible length, and this exploit was performed by knights and noblemen of high rank with their own hands.

Most painful is it to find the voice of Luther raised against the unfortunate people, in fierce and unmeasured vituperation, and urging on the vengeance of foes who needed no such stimulant. Overlooking the fact that the great body of the peasants were innocent of the outrage at Weinsperg, and irritated by the certainly unfounded accusation of the Catholics, of his having been in some measure himself the occasion of this and other excesses, he declares that henceforth the peasants have no claim to mercy, and (in his letter "Against the murderous and robber hordes of Boors") he calls on all who can "to stab them, cut them down, and dash their brains out as if they were mad dogs." They deserve themselves, he says, to be counted among the insurgents who shall have mercy on those "upon whom God will not have mercy, but whom he will punish and destroy."

It has been urged that Luther was compelled to act thus, lest the Reformation should be involved in the consequences of the unsuccessful revolt; a poor excuse at best, and to this argument another may be opposed of greater force.

"Had Luther," says Dr. Zimmerman, "accepted the consequences of his own principles, had he not taken a one-sided view of the Reformation, but remained the man of the people, and placed himself at the head of the movement on which, in the first instance, he had not looked without satisfaction, he would have carried with him thousands who were hesitating between the people and their oppressors; the Germans might, even then, have become a nation, united in faith and political freedom; and the civil and religious

dissensions, the strife, the calamity, and misery of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, and the countless evils of a hydra-headed despotism have been avoided."

The effects of this desertion of the popular cause by its natural leaders was no less fatal to the cause of religion than to that of

political freedom, by involving the Protestants in a thousand contradictions, and by leading to the same habits of equivocation, and encouraging the very spirit of persecution and intolerance, which formed their most prominent accusations against the church of Rome.

From the New Monthly Magazine.

HISTORY ILLUSTRATED BY CARICATURE.

England under the House of Hanover ; its History and Condition during the Reigns of the three Georges, illustrated from the Caricatures and Satires of the Day. By Thomas Wright, Esq., M. A., F. S. A., &c., with numerous illustrations, executed by F. W. Fairholt.

PICTORIAL and written satires, are the most harmless and at the same time, the most effective weapons of opposition. Seeking simply to bring out the faults and foibles of a question, a principle, or a fashion, in a ridiculous point of view: a satire, however pointed or bitter, has little of the asperity and invective of direct argument. Appealing also at once to the eye, it often brings home truth to idlers who have not zeal to search for it elsewhere—hence its influence often in deciding questions even of primary importance. Caricature is a word of Italian origin, but the application of so homely, and yet so potent a means of persuasion to politics, dates from the remotest times. Caricatures and songs have been found in Egyptian tombs, and Mr. Wright particularly points out that the song and the lampoon were the constant attendant on, and medium of invective in, those incessant political struggles which, during the middle ages, were preparing for the formation of modern society; and many an old manuscript and sculptured block, whether of wood or stone, shows that our forefathers in the middle ages understood well the permanent force of pictorial satire.

It was at once a new and promising idea to illustrate a given period of modern history by materials entirely derived from such sources. Nor in selecting such a period could a more happy choice have been made by Mr. Wright than that of the reigns of the first three Georges. It is the period at which the House of Brunswick was established on the throne of England, upon the ruin of Jacobitism, by the overthrow of the political creed of despotism,

as also that when the same dynasty and its throne were defended against the encroachments of that fearful flood of republicanism which burst out from a neighboring kingdom, and thus gained the victory over democracy. These are to us interesting periods, because in them originated all those distinctions of political parties and that peculiar spirit of constitutional antagonism which exist at the present day. It was during these periods that the great political parties of Tories and Whigs came into play, and it was in the political warfare brought about by this antagonism of parties that caricatures not only chiefly flourished, but appear almost to have had their origin as a national art; for Mr. Wright informs us that previous to the Revolution of 1688 caricatures were chiefly executed by Dutch artists, and that the majority of such were imported from Holland.

The antipathy, however, that existed between the two opposing parties, which sprang from that revolution was of the bitterest description. Each endeavored to render its opponents odious to the public by personal abuse and calumny, and this animosity even extended to the pulpit. A Tory paper of the 12th of November, 1715, reported that, "On Monday last the Presbyterian minister at Epsom broke his leg, which was so miserably shattered, that it was cut off the next day. This is a great token, that those pretenders to sanctity do not walk so circumspectly as they give out."

The first regular political mob was a High Church mob, stirred up for the purpose of raising a clamor against the Whigs, and headed by the notorious Dr. Henry

Sacheverell. The Sacheverell pictures and songs were plentiful, but they appear to have been pointless and complicated. One copper-plate, for example, had crown, mitre, Bible and Common Prayer, "as supported by the truly evangelical and apostolical, truly monarchical and episcopal, truly legal and canonical, or truly Church of England fourteen," who had supported Sacheverell through his trial. The Sacheverell caricatures were also exceedingly numerous, but equally pointless and void of humor. One engraved by Mr. Wright from Mr. Hawkins's collection, represents the doctor in the act of writing his sermon, prompted on one side by the Pope, and on the other by the Devil. The retort of the other party was somewhat better. They made a nearly exact copy of the caricature of the doctor, with a bishop mitred in the place of the Pope, and the Devil flying away in terror at the doctor's sermon. In the virulent partyism of the times all kinds of articles were made the means of conveying caricatures; we find them on seals for letters, on buttons for people's coats, and even on tobacco-stoppers, as somewhat later they appeared on playing cards, and on ladies' fans. What is more absurd is that one design was sometimes adapted to the two sides of the question. Thus Mr. Wright instances the case of a medal having on one side the head of the preacher surrounded by the words H. H. Sach, D. D., while the inscription on the reverse is *Firm to thee*, surrounding on some copies of the medal a mitre, and on others the head of the Pope, thus being calculated to suit all parties.

The exultation of the Whig party on the accession of George I. soon manifested itself in numerous lampoons and satirical writings, not very remarkable either for their wit or brilliancy. Apparently the first caricature published in this reign contained

"The traitor's coat of arms, curiously engraved on a copper-plate; the crest of a Welshman stripped of his grandeur, playing upon a hornpipe, to lull his senses under his misfortunes; an earl's coronet, filled with French flower-de-luces, and tipped with French gold; the Pretender's head in the middle. The coat, three toads in a black field; the three toads are the old French coat of arms—being in reverse, denotes treason in perfection. The supporters are a French popish priest in his habit, with a warming-pan upon his shoulder, and a penknife in his left hand, ready to execute what the Popish religion dictates upon Protestants: on the other side, a Scots Highlander—some call him Gregg; a pack upon his back, and a letter in his hand, betraying the kingdom's safety; for his

encouragement and protection, he has his master's magic wand and borrowed golden angel. The motto, *Pour la veuve et l'orphelin*. Sold by A. Boulter, without Temple Bar."

This was of course aimed at the ex-lord treasurer, Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford, one of whose creatures, a Scot, named Gregg, had been engaged in some unpatriotic intrigues during the late ministry. The widow and orphan were Mary of Modena and the Pretender. The warming-pan, as we shall afterwards see, referred to the supposititious birth of the Pretender.

The conduct of Anne's Tory ministry was soon also arraigned in political romances and tales. Such were the "Secret History of the White Staff," by De Foe, and the different pamphlets in answer to it and in defence of it, in which the character of the Lord Treasurer Oxford was very freely discussed, and others of the same class. The discomfited Tories, who were not generally backward in taking up the pen, or deficient in able men to use it, were at first entirely confounded by the sudden and unexpected course of events. One of the first lampoons upon the Whigs came from the pen of the scurrilous publican poet, Ned Ward, upon the occasion of the triumphant return of Marlborough. The Tories, however, reckoned most upon the mob to embarrass the government, and such a multitude of low libels and seditious papers were hawked about the streets, that in November (1714), the lord mayor was compelled to seize upon many of the vendors and throw them into the house of correction.

After the flight of Bolingbroke and Ormond to France, the name of the latter, as the only one of the late ministers who enjoyed much popularity, was substituted for that of Sacheverell in the cries of the mob, and the head of Duke Ormond figured as an ornament where the doctor's had done before. From that time, the doctor lost his importance; and within a few years, at the time when Hogarth drew his series of the "Harlot's Progress," Sacheverell's portrait was looked upon as a fit companion for that of the no less notorious Captain Mackheath.

Mr. Wright looks upon the following song, which was taken down in 1841 by Mr. C. Roach Smith from the mouth of a fishmonger in the Isle of Wight, as one of the most curious relics of English Jacobite literature he has met with.

"I am Ormond the brave,—did you ever hear of me?
A man lately banish'd from his own country.
I fought for my life, and I pawn'd my estate,
For being so loyal to the Queen and the great.

You know I am Ormond, I am Ormond the
Brave;

You call me Jemmy Butler, but I am Ormond
the Brave!

"Between Ormond and Marlbro' there rose a great
dispute;

Says Ormond to Marlbro', 'I was born a duke,
And you but a foot-page to wait upon a lady;
You may thank the kind fortune, since the wars
they have made ye.'

And sing hey," &c.

"'Oh!' says Marlbro', 'now do not say so;
For if you do, from the court you shall go.'

'Oh, then,' says Ormond, 'do not be so cruel,
But draw forth your sword, and I'll end it with a
duel.'

But Marlbro' went away, and he came no more
there;

When the brave Duke of Ormond threw his sword
into the air.

And sing hey," &c.

"'Begone, then,' says Ormond, 'You cowardly
traitor!

To rob my soldiers it never was my nature,
As you have done before, we well understand;
You fill'd up your coffers, and impoverish'd your
own land.'

And sing hey," &c.

"'I never was a traitor, as you have been saying:
I never damn'd Queen Anne, as she lay in her
grave;

But I was Queen Anne's darling, and old Eng-
land's delight,

And for the crown of England so boldly I did fight.'
And sing hey," &c.

It was chiefly by songs that the minds of the lower classes were to have been prepared to join in a general rising in favor of the exiled house of Stuart. The Whigs replied by casting ridicule and contempt upon the son of James II., whom they insisted on looking upon as a mere impostor. The common story was that the Pretender was the child of a miller, and that, when newly born, he had been conveyed into the Queen's bed by means of a warming-pan; and this contrivance having been ascribed to the ingenuity of Father Petre, the Whigs always spoke of the Pretender by the name of Perkin, or little Peter. Hence it was that the warming-pan figures so much in the satirical literature of the day. Mr. Wright gives one of the caricatures illustrative of this period. The Queen is represented sitting by the cradle, while her Jesuit adviser whispers in her ear with his hand placed in a more than familiar manner over her neck. The infant has a child's windmill to mark the trade of its real

parents; and a bowl of milk and an orange are on the table below. Also a still more curious satirical medal, from Mr. Haggard's collection, in which Father Petre is pushing the child up through the roof of a chest or cupboard, while Truth is exposing the trickery by holding the door open, and emblematically crushing a serpent at the same time.

Amid the political excitement during the Jacobite times, even the taverns and public-houses of the metropolis took a character of partizanship, and some, under the name of Mug-Houses, became the resort of small societies or clubs of political partizans. Mr. Wright gives an amusing account of these London mug-houses. Two of those which were most distinguished in the riots of 1715 and 1716 as strongholds of the Whigs, were the Roebuck, in Cheapside, where the "Loyal Society" held its meetings, and a mug-house in Long Acre. The Tory ale-houses appear to have stood chiefly about Holborn Hill (Dr. Sacheverell's parish) and Ludgate Street. The Whig societies who frequented the mug-houses began in the autumn of 1715 to unite in parties to fight the Jacobite mob which had so long tyrannized over the streets.

At the end of October and beginning of November, a number of political anniversaries crowded together. The Prince of Wales's birth-day, the 30th of October, was celebrated on Monday the 31st. The *Flying Post*, the chief chronicler of these tumults, informs us that "A parcel of the Jacobite rabble, such as Bridewell boys, &c., committed outrages on Ludgate Hill, broke the windows that were illuminated, scattered a bonfire, and cried out 'An Ormond! &c.,' but they were dispersed and soundly thrashed by a party of the Loyal Society, who had lately burnt the Pretender in effigy." From this time we shall find the new self-constituted police constantly at war with the mob. The latter had prepared an effigy of King William to be burnt on the anniversary of that monarch's birth, Friday, November 4, and on the approach of night they assembled round a large bonfire in the Old Jury for that purpose. But information of their design having been carried to a party of the Loyal Society, who were met at the Roebuck to celebrate King William's birth-day, and who were therefore close at hand, these gentlemen hastened to the spot, and "gave the Jacks due chastisement with oaken plants, demolished their bonfire, and brought off the effigies in triumph to the Roebuck." On the morrow, the 5th of November, the Whig mob had their celebration. They had prepared caricature effigies of the Pope, the Pretender, Ormond, Bolingbroke, and the Earl of Marr, which were carried in the following order:—"First two men bearing each a

warming-pan, with the representation of the infant Pretender, a nurse attending him with a sucking-bottle, and another playing with him by beating the warming-pan." These were followed by three trumpeters, playing "Lilliburlero" and other Whig tunes. Then came a cart with Ormond and Marr, appropriately dressed. This was followed by another cart, containing the Pope and Pretender seated together, and Bolingbroke as the secretary of the latter. They were all drawn backwards, with halters round their necks. The procession, thus arranged, passed from the Roebuck along Cheapside, through Newgate Street, and up Holborn Hill, where the Jacobite bells of St. Andrew's Church were made to ring a merry peal. From thence they passed through Lincoln's-Inn-Fields and Covent Garden to St. James's, where they made a stand before the palace; and so went back by Pall-Mall and the Strand, through St. Paul's Churchyard, into Cheapside: but here they found that the "Jack" had been beforehand with them, and stolen the fagots which had been piled up for their bonfire. They therefore made a circuit of the city, whilst a new bonfire was prepared, and on their return burnt all the effigies amid the shouts of the crowd.

The enmity between the mob and the Loyal Society was embittered by these first encounters, and it soon came to a fierce issue. On the 17th of November one of the mob was killed in an assault upon the Roebuck, and serious tumults and faction fights occurred at intervals during 1716, till the 20th of July, when a desperate attack was made upon the same house, in which, although the ringleader was killed, the lower part of the house was gutted, and the mob was only dispersed by the arrival of the magistrates and soldiers.

The next great subject for caricature and satire was the South Sea Bubble. Jacobite fights, the alarming increase of highway robberies, even in the streets of London, the unremitting warfare of High Church and Low Church, and Colley Cibber's "non-juror" were all forgotten in the extraordinary social convulsion that followed upon Law's Mississippi scheme and its English imitation—the South Sea Company. The infatuation with which people entered upon this rash project was perfectly astonishing. It was in vain that Sir Robert Walpole and a few other able men, as well as all the Tory papers, ridiculed the project. Stock-jobbing became the sole business of all classes, and Whigs, and Tories, and Jacobites, and High Church and Low Church, and Dissenters, forgot their mutual animosity in the general infatuation. Minor stock-jobbing companies sprang up like mushrooms around the large government-scheme:—

The "Political State of Great Britain" gives a list of these bubbles in July amounting to a hundred and four, among which are companies "for assurance of seamen's wages;" "for a wheel for perpetual motion;" "for improving gardens;" "for insuring and increasing children's fortunes;" "for making looking glasses;" "for improving malt liquors;" "for breeding and providing for bastard children" (the first idea of the foundling hospital); and "for insuring against thefts and robberies." Among other projects were companies "for planting of mulberry trees and breeding of silkworms in Chelsea Park;" "for importing a number of large jackasses from Spain, in order to propagate a larger breed of mules in England;" "for fattening of hogs." A clergyman proposed a company to discover the land of Ophir, and monopolize the gold and silver which that country was believed still to produce. It would be almost impossible here to carry the ridiculous beyond what was represented in matter of fact; but there were some burlesque lists, containing companies "for curing the gout," "for insuring marriages against divorce," and the like.

The fault of the caricatures of the period, both political and in reference to the "bubbles," was the same. They were too complex and elaborate. It is set forth in the advertisement of a caricature, called "The World in Masquerade," as a strong recommendation that it was "represented in nigh eighty figures."

Political playing cards had been first published on the occasion of the Popish plot in the time of Charles II. New issues came forth on the occasion of these South Sea bubbles, of which Mr. Wright gives a detailed account. The wise measures of Walpole gradually alleviated the evils which the South Sea affair had afflicted on society, and although the spirits of the Jacobites rose in 1720, at the birth of a young Pretender, and Bishop Atterbury got up a Jacobite plot in 1722, its failure was so signal that the government of King George gained daily in strength. The ministers, strong in their parliamentary majorities, paid little heed to the clamor of the opposition; trade went on flourishing, and the Pretender was no longer in a position to give alarm. For several years afterwards the bitterness of party feeling appears to have cast itself chiefly into the ranks of literature and science.

This opens a new subject, which Mr. Wright treats of with his usual accuracy of detail and completeness of purpose. The first kings of the Hanoverian dynasty had no love for letters, and those authors only could live by their writings who would throw themselves into the troubled sea of

party, or who would pander to the depraved taste of the mob of readers, or rather we should say of the reading mob, and become the tools of the newspapers or of the booksellers. The drama was suffering perhaps more than any other class of literature by the debasement of the public taste. Masquerades had also been introduced by the celebrated John James Heidegger at the Opera House, as a new attraction to popularity, and in a short time became the rage of the town. Every one seemed to relish the saturnalia, in which all ranks and classes, in outward disguise at least, mixed together in indiscriminate confusion, where, to use the words of a contemporary writer,—

"Fools, dukes, rakes, cardinals, fops, Indian queens,
Belles in tye-wigs, and lords in Harlequins,
Troops of right honorable porters come,
And garter'd small coal-merchants crowd the room;
Valets stuck o'er with coronets appear,
Lacqueys of state, and footmen with a star;
Sailors of quality with judges mix,
And chimney-sweepers drive their coach and six:
Statesmen, so used at court the mask to wear,
Now condescend again to use it here;
Idiots turn conjurers, and courtiers clowns,
And sultans drop their handkerchiefs to nuns."

Although the masquerade soon became more than a figurative leveller of society, that sharpers and women of ill-repute gained admission, and that nightly scenes of robbery, quarrels, and scandalous licentiousness occurred, still Heidegger was caressed by the court and the nobility, and gained both money and honors. Heidegger's ugliness was an especial subject of caricature, but he shared this unenviable notoriety with other foreigners, for in those days, as in actual times, singers and dancers from Italy obtained large sums of money, and returned to build themselves palaces at home, while first-rate actors at Drury Lane or Lincoln's-Inn Fields, experienced a difficulty in obtaining respectable audiences.

It was the degeneracy of the stage at this period which brought forward the satirical talents of Hogarth, then a young man. In 1723, immediately after the appearance of the pantomime of "Doctor Faustus," at Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, he published his plate of "Masquerades and Operas," with the gate of Burlington House in the background. In 1725 he published his "Just View of the British Stage," and in 1727, a large "Masquerade Ticket," bitterly satirical on the immoral tendency of masquerades, as well as on their manager, Heidegger. A sketch by Hogarth has preserved and immortalized

the face of this man upon the occasion of the well-known story of the equivoque brought about with his band between himself and his double.

In 1728, the "Beggar's Opera" threw masquerades and pantomime into the shade. Lavinia Fenton, formerly an obscure actress, to whom was given the part of *Polly*, became an object of general admiration and within a short time was elevated to the rank of Duchess of Bolton. This was a fine subject for the pen and pencil of satirists. Hogarth caricatured Gay's opera in a print, representing the actors with the heads of animals, and Apollo and the Muses fast asleep under the stage. Others, with the same profound wisdom and unfathomable self-complacency, that has been exhibited in tracing cause to effect in the case of the adventures of Jack Sheppard, hesitated not to ascribe all the street-robberies of the day to the influence of the "Beggar's Opera." *Mist's* journal of the 2nd of March, justly attributed such surmises to "certain people of an envious disposition."

By Pope and others, Gay was looked upon only as a new instance of the sacrifice of literary genius to party feelings, and Mr. Wright remarks, that the treatment he experienced, perhaps led in some measure to the appearance of those remarkable literary productions which agitated the world for several years. "The Travels of Gulliver," published in 1727, was followed the same year by Pope's "Treatise on the Bathos," which again was followed by the same author's "Dunciad." Caricature takes, however, generally a more limited field than satire, and Hogarth's grotesque coarseness in his sketch of the dancing attitudes of Monsieur Desnoyer and the Signora Barberini, is a relief to Mr. Wright's disquisition on the wide-extending empire of dullness. For the same reason we will pass over Fielding's "Pasquin," a direct lampoon on government, brought out in 1727, and the attacks on the "Dunciad," although provocative of some good things from Hogarth.

The division among the Whigs, and the formation of a party of discontents under Pulteney and Bolingbroke, under the name of Patriots, filled the country towards the end of George I.'s reign, and during the early years of George II., with seditious attacks in every variety of shape, and again roused the mob into importance. In December, 1726, the coalesced statesmen started a political paper under the title of

the *Craftsman*, and the violence of Bolingbroke's and Pulteney's pens, and the provokingly personal character of the opposition, kept increasing till 1731, when the king became so incensed at these virulent attacks, that he instituted a prosecution against the paper. The adhesion of Frederick, Prince of Wales, to the Patriots, in 1737, gave to them a great increase of influence. The foreign policy of the minister was especially made the subject of caricature. The Spaniard paring the British lion's nails, an Englishman fighting with a Spaniard, while a Dutchman is picking his pocket, the political "Jack the Giant Killer," and "Hosier's Ghost," are good examples of the caricatures of the day which culminated in "The Motion," one of the most spirited caricatures of the time, which bore reference to an attempt made on the 13th of February, 1741, to oust out the ministry. The opposition retaliated, but not very successfully.

To these succeeded the caricatures, which were very numerous, on the affairs of Maria Theresa, the English ones being in her favor, those printed on the continent against her. In one of the most spirited of the latter, the queen is represented as a ragged gipsy (*Bohémienne*) offering her jewels to the King of France, who replies disdainfully, "*Portez les a Pompadour.*" It was in the midst of this hurly-burly abroad, that Walpole's power was at length broken. His fall was celebrated by a variety of caricatures. In one called "Bob, the political Balance Master," the fallen minister is decked in his coronet, and seated at one end of a balance, held up by Britannia, who sits mourning over sleeping trade. At the other end of the balance sits Justice, who is unable to weigh down effectually the bulky peer, assisted as he is by his bags of treasure; but in spite of this help, his position is critical, and in his terror he cries out to the Evil One, who appears above, "Oh! help thy faithful servant, Bob!" Satan gives him a look anything but encouraging, and, holding out an axe, replies to his invocation, "This is thy due!"

The ministerial changes and promotions that ensued upon the fall of the Walpole administration also afforded a fertile subject for caricatures and satires. But the rebellion of '45 and the military preparations made to resist the progress of the young Pretender, were the theme of by far the happiest efforts. Some of the latter caricatures are exceedingly laughable. In

most of them the Pope, the Devil, and their associates figure as the prime movers of the rebellion, and all were more or less elaborate. Hogarth, however, carried away the palm over all competitors. His "March to Finchley," his "City Trained Bands," and other similar caricatures, are too well known to require notice.

The naturalization of the Jews became, in 1752, a new subject for political satire and caricature. The elections that followed in 1754 will ever be memorable in the history of art, as having given rise to Hogarth's four capital prints of the humors of an election. The satires and caricatures that followed upon such serious subjects as the American war with France, the accession of William Pitt to power, the seven years' war, and the conquest of Canada, which all preceded the death of George II., were curiously diversified by the episode of *Beer versus Gin*, which gave origin to Hogarth's prints of "Beer Street" and "Gin Lane."

The subjects of satire and caricature assumed a more domestic and incidental character during the latter years of the reign of George II. and the first of George III. than they had previously done. Satires upon quackery and credulity were quickly succeeded by the Cock Lane Ghost; exaggerated fashions, hoop petticoats, and great head-dresses, alternated with the stage and the opera; Garrick and Quin, Handel and Foote; and the literary quarrels of Churchill, Smollett, Johnson, and Chatterton.

The political heroes of the first ten years of the reign of George III. were William Pitt, Lord Bute, and John Wilkes. It was a period at which factions raged with extraordinary violence, and satire and caricatures were largely used as weapons in the virulent party warfare then going on. Pitt as the distressed statesman, and as Gulliver in a bubble flight, Bute's patronage of Scotchmen, the well-known head of the editor of the *North Briton*, the Cumberland tool, and the now perpetually recurring Fox's heads, are the staple subjects of the day.

The violent political agitation that characterized the duration of the North administration was succeeded by the dispute with the American colonies—a rather sore subject for caricature, but not the less made use of. The tea bill was represented in popular squibs and caricatures as a bitter dose, which Lord North was forcing upon an unwilling patient *usque ad nauseam*. In a caricature published with the "Westmin-

ster Magazine" for April, 1774, under the title of the "Whitehall Pump," poor Britannia is thrown down upon her child, America, while Lord North, who was remarkable for the shortness of his vision, viewing her through his glass, is pumping (tea) upon her, and appears to be enjoying her distress.

The songs of the renowned Captain Morris, the O. P. riots, and caricatures in reference to Rodney's triumphs, to "Honest Sam House, the publican," to the Duchess of Devonshire's political ardor, to Farmer George and his wife, to Burke, Grattan, and Flood, and those in reference to the Warren Hastings affair, and to the Regency question, give great relief to those virulent and never-ending political squabbles which, what between state coalitions, back stairs' influence, the enmity of Pitt and Fox, and the opposed interest of father and son, constituted the great features of George the Third's reign, and attained a culminating point with the progress of the French revolution and the war with France. Gillray was to the latter part of the epoch what Hogarth had been to George the Second's reign.

It is curious in present times, when the immediate proximity of a great and warlike nation, exceedingly vain-glorious, easily excited, and deeply imbued with national prejudices, combine with the change that has been given to maritime defences by the introduction of steam, and the unfortified state of the British coasts, to cause serious apprehensions of an invasion to be entertained by many thinking persons, to read in Mr. Wright's amusing work, the humorous effects produced by the many invasions with which we were threatened during the First Revolution and the supremacy of Bonaparte. Gillray came out on these popular topics in all his strength. A caricature published on the 1st of February, 1798, under the title of the "Storm Rising; or the Republican Flotilla in danger," represents Fox, Sheridan, and their allies, drawing the enemy's flotilla to our coast by means of a capstan and cable, while Pitt, from above, is blowing up a storm that is to drive it away—in the winds we discover the names of Duncan, Howe, Gardiner, &c. The flotilla has in front the flag of "liberty," but the flag behind is inscribed as that of "Slavery." The turrets and bulwarks represent "murder," "plunder," "beggary," and a number of other similar prospects. On the other side of the water

are seen the fortifications of Brest, with the guillotine raised on its principal tower, and the devil dancing over it, and playing the tune of "Over de vater to Charley!"

Numerous pictures were also published to show the disastrous state of things to be expected in this country when the Whigs should have helped the French to the mastery. Of these, the most remarkable was a series of four plates, engraved by Gillray, and said (in the corner of each plate) to be "invented" by Sir John Dalrymple. They are entitled "The Consequences of a Successful French Invasion." The first represents the House of Commons occupied by the triumphant democrats, the mace, records, and other furniture of the house, are involved in one common destruction, and the members are fettered in pairs, in the garb of convicts, ready for transportation to Botany Bay. In the second, the House of Lords is the scene of similar havoc; a guillotine, supported by two Turkish mutes with their bows, occupies the place of the throne; and the commander-in-chief, in his full republican uniform, pointing to the mace, says to one of his creatures, "Here, take away this bauble; but if there be any gold in it, send it to my lodging." In the third plate, the good people of England, in rags and wooden shoes, are forced to till the ground, while their proud republican task-masters follow them with a whip. The fourth is a lesson for Ireland; having come over with the specious pretext of delivering the Catholic faith from Protestant supremacy; they abuse the Catholic clergy and plunder and profane their churches.

The successes of the British navy filled all hearts, except those of the Whig leaders, with hope and joy. Gillray immortalizes these successes in the rather coarse vein of humor of the day, as "John Bull taking a luncheon; or, British cooks cramming old Grumble-Gizzard with *bonne chère*." John sitting at his well-furnished table, is almost overwhelmed by the zealous attentions of his (naval) cooks, foremost among whom, the hero of the Nile, is offering him a "fricasee à la Nelson,"—a large dish of battered French ships of the line. The other admirals, in their characters of cooks, are crowding round, and we distinguish among their contributions to John's table, "fricando à la Howe," "dessert à la Warren," "Dutch cheese à la Duncan," and a variety of other dishes, "à la Vincent," "à la Bridport," "à la Gardiner," &c. John Bull is deliberately snapping up

a frigate at a mouthful, and he is evidently fattening upon his new diet; he exclaims, as his cooks gather round him, "What! more frigasees! — why you rōgues you, where do you think I shall find room to stow all you bring in?" Beside him stands an immense jug of "true British stout" to wash them down, and behind him a picture of "Bonaparte in Egypt," suspended against the wall, is concealed by Nelson's hat, which is hung over it. Through the window we see Fox and Sheridan running away in dismay at John Bull's voracity.

The results of the battle of the Nile led many to entertain hopes that Bonaparte would never be able to get back to his own country. Gillray published a caricature on the 20th of November, entitled "Fighting for the Dunghill; or, Jack Tar settling Bonaparte," in which Jack is manfully disputing his enemy's right to supremacy over the world; the nose of the latter gives evident proof of "punishment." Jack Tar has his advanced foot on Malta, while Bonaparte is seated, not very firmly, on Turkey. Gillray's idea of a French republican was so original that it became the foundation of all attempts to caricature our enemies for many years. A caricature by the same hand remains to commemorate the return of Bonaparte from Egypt and the overthrow of the French Directory; it was published on the 21st of November, 1799, and is entitled "Exit Liberté à la Française! or, Bonaparte closing the farce of Egalité at St. Cloud, near Paris, November 10th, 1799." The peace of Amiens was celebrated by Gillray in a caricature entitled "Preliminaries of Peace; or, John Bull and his little Friend marching to Paris." The little friend is Lord Hawkesbury, who is leading the way across the channel, over a rotten and broken plank; John Bull accompanied by Fox and all the approvers of the negotiations, allows himself to be led by the nose, while Britannia's shield and a number of valuable conquests are thrown into the water as useless. Another caricature of similar import was entitled "Political Dreamings; Visions of Peace! Perspective Horrors!" Wyndham, says Mr. Wright, had described in strong language the evils which the peace would draw down upon this country, and as embodied in this picture, they are certainly fearful. The preliminaries are endorsed as "Britannia's Death Warrant;" and she herself is seen in the clouds dragged off to the guillotine for execution by the Corsican

depredator. Visions of headless bodies crowd around. Lord Hawkesbury's hand, as he signs the peace, is guided by Pitt. On one side Justice has received a strong dose of physic. On another, we see St. Paul's in flames. And here the long gaunt form of Death treading in stilts (two spears) on the roast beef and other good things of Old England. At the foot of Wyndham's bed, Fox, as an imp of darkness, gives the serenade. The figure of the ominous serenader is absurdly grotesque. Gillray's imps are perfectly original, as is also seen in the caricature entitled "We are the Assessed Taxes." A caricature which enjoyed an unusual degree of popularity, and with which Bonaparte himself is said to have been highly amused was "The First Kiss this ten Years; or, the Meeting of Britannia and Citizen François."

The invasion threatened in 1803 called forth a far greater number of songs, satires, and caricatures than any that preceded. Every kind of wit and humor were brought into play to keep up the national zeal. Gillray, on his side, represented King George as the King of Brobdignag, eyeing his diminutive assailant with contempt. Other caricatures represented the blustering invader in the same character. In a fine engraving by Gillray, bearing the same title as the one just mentioned, "The King of Brobdignag and Gulliver," the diminutive boaster is seen attempting to manœuvre his small boat in a basin of water, to the great amusement of King George and his court. Jack Tar's impatience for the French to come out was set forth in a caricature by the same hand, in which John Bull is represented as taking to the sea in person, to chant the serenade of defiance. The head of Bonaparte is just seen over the battlement, uttering the threat which he had now been repeating several weeks, "I'm a coming! I'm a coming!" His boats are safely stowed up under the triple fort in which he has ensconced himself for personal security, and John Bull taunts with no little ill-humor. Gillray also published several caricatures setting forth the consequences of the landing of Bonaparte. In one, our brave volunteers are driving him and his army into the sea. In another, entitled "Bonaparte forty-eight Hours after Landing," John Bull is represented bearing the bleeding head of the invader in triumph on his pike. In a third the king, in his hunting garb, is holding up the Corsican fox, which he has hunted down with his good hounds Nelson,

Vincent, &c. Bonaparte is said to have been much offended with some of these caricatures, which were often coarsely personal, and the first consul was particularly sensitive to anything like ridicule against himself or his family.

As Gillray was disappearing from the scene, a number of clever caricaturists supplied his place. The Rowlandsons, Woodwards, and Cruikshanks, and their companions, continued to assail our foreign enemies with numerous caricatures during 1807 and 1808. John Bull, who seems to have been brought into existence by the admir-

able political satire of Pope's friend, Dr. Arbuthnot, first took his modern pictorial form under Gillray. But the plump, sleek, good-humored individual of that great artist, had a more coarse and vulgar air communicated to him by Rowlandson. Woodward, however, restored the original idea of the personification of Old England. Nothing can be happier than that artist's "Genial Rays; or, John Bull Enjoying the Sunshine," which represents the sun of patriotism shining in its full glory, and lusty, happy John Bull reclining on a bed of roses and basking joyously in its rays.

From Hogg's Instructor.

WOLFGANG MOZART.

UPON a beautiful morning in the month of April, 1762, a little girl about eight years of age, and a boy about two years her junior, descended the vine-covered bank of Kosoheez, at the foot of which murmured and flowed the pure and rapid waters of the river Moldau, which loses itself in the ancient forest of Bohemia. Instead of dancing on their path with all that lively gaiety so common to young people of their age, these two children held each other by the hand, and walked slowly along, with thoughtful brows, and downcast eyes, and the gravity of years stamped upon their faces; yet all the easy grace, candor, and simplicity of childhood were observable in their countenances and motions. Their dress announced the poverty of their condition. The little girl's robes were faded and worn, while those of the boy were patched with cloths of different colors at both knees and elbows. Nevertheless, poor though they seemed, it was easy to be perceived that a kind and attentive mother had tastefully combed and braided their long, fair ringlets, and had washed their delicate hands, and handsome, intelligent faces—thus investing poverty with its chiefest dignity and grace, that of personal cleanliness. They held in their hands each a large piece of bread, upon which from time to time they cast their eyes without venturing to eat. When they had reached the foot of the descent, and were about to seek shelter beneath the green boughs of the forest-trees, the little boy broke silence. "Did you remark, my

sister," said he, with a sad voice, "in what manner our mother gave us our breakfast this morning, and how she sighed when I said, 'Nothing but bread again?'"

"Yes, my brother," replied the little girl, shaking her pretty head and sighing, "she wept—I saw her tears, and her look, which seemed to say, 'There is even no more bread in the house, so you must be content.' But wherefore do you weep?" added the little girl, suddenly melting into tears at the sight of her brother's emotion.

"I weep because you do so," replied Wolfgang, in his turn; and then he added, "I grieve, too, that I have not bread enough for my breakfast."

"Poor little thing," said his sister, kissing the tears from his eyes, and fondling him, as if she had been twenty instead of only two years his senior, "you are never without some great grief; but come, let us wander below the green spreading branches of the tall trees, and pluck the little flowers which peep from the clustered grass that grows beneath them; and you shall eat what bread you have, and we shall wreath our brows with blossoms, and forget that we are hungry."

As she spoke, Fredrika led her brother into the forest-path that skirted the margin of the Kosoheez, and began to cull the wild blossoms from its banks, and to laugh in the fulness of her joy. High overhead towered the ash, fir, and elm trees, and the golden sunbeams struggled through their openings, and fell upon the moss-grown

stones, and wild fox-gloves, and trefoils, and ferns, that clustered by the river's side. The songs of the birds came echoing from the far recesses of the deep, green wood, and fell upon the ears of the children like heaven-attuned harmonies, until the soul of the little boy was stirred within him, and his lip quivered with an undefinable emotion.

"Fredrika," said he, in a soft whisper, as he turned his large blue eyes towards those distant azure spots of the concave sky, which could be seen through the shady foliage over his head—"Fredrika," said he, as the flowers dropped from his hand, and his face assumed a devotional character, "what a sweet place this would be in which to pray!"

"True, my Wolfgang," said the child, struck by her brother's earnestness; "but for what and to whom will we pray?"

"We shall pray for some means to make my mother smile oftener, and my father to seem less sad—we shall ask that poverty may go from our dwelling-place, and leave us happiness instead—and we shall pray to God, who dwells in the blue heavens which you see yonder through the dense leaves of the forest."

"And he will listen to us," said the little girl, joining her hands, and kneeling with charming simplicity upon the ground, while her brother bent down at her side. "My mother says that he always listens to the prayers of children who love their parents."

"My sister," said Wolfgang, after he had knelt some time in silence, "shall we address ourselves to our Lady of Loretto, or to the great St. John Nepomucene?"

"To St. John," responded the sister; and she closed her beautiful eyes, and exclaimed, in low solemn tones, while her brother's voice mingled with hers, "Oh, good St. John, give us the means of being useful to our parents!"

Dependency, the parent of prayer, is a prime attribute of childhood. The tender soul and tender frame alike cry for support and protection. "Lead us not into temptation," says the young feeble spirit, as it looks upward to the bright region from which it so lately came, and forward on the dark world which it yet scarcely knows. "Give us each day our daily bread," cries the body, as it bends its knees upon the sward. Prayer, so profitable during all ages, is a necessity of childhood, and the act of it is one of infancy's most holy aspects. As the little boy and girl knelt upon the soft

grass, and uttered their sweet filial aspirations, the sunbeams fell upon their closed eyes and spiritualized features, as if they loved so to do; and the eyes of a man, who was concealed by the dense foliage which surrounded the spot where they knelt, shone on them too, with such an expression as an angel might wear, if it listened to such silvery voices. The man was of lofty, noble stature; his countenance was mild and benevolent, and his dress was rich but simple. He stood silent and thoughtful, and leaned upon the tree behind which the lovely children knelt.

"St. John of Nepomucene, direct us how we may assist our parents," said the little boy, rising from his knees, and assisting his sister to do so also.

"We have finished our prayers, then, Wolfgang," said Fredrika, as she kissed her brother's lips.

"And we have discovered the means for which we have prayed," exclaimed the boy, interrupting her, while his face lighted up with joy, and his bright eyes sparkled with hope. "I knew that we should discover some way of assisting our parents."

"And what way have you discovered, our wise Wolfgang," cried Fredrika laughing.

"Has not our mother over and over again told us that we were good children?" said the boy with sweet naïveté, "and has not our father often declared that you could sing, and that I could play well upon the piano? Now, we shall rise some fine morning," said the child with a serious air, "and we shall take each other's hands, and we shall wander far away over green plains, and by hedge-paths and rivers, until we discover, on our route, some stately castle; and you shall sing, and I shall play upon the piano, and the rich folks of the castle shall give us gold. Fredrika," said the wrapt, dreaming boy, while his little breast heaved with the earnestness and fulness of his feelings, and his eyes shone as if with an inspiration, "I shall make the piano tremble with the most enchanting airs, till everybody who listens to it shall tremble too, and then they shall embrace thee and me, and shall give us pearls, and jewels, and bonbons; but I shall say we will have none of these—give us money, I pray you, that we may carry it to our father and mother."

"Ah, what a dreamer thou art," cried the little girl, as she embraced the enthusiastic child, and kissed him.

"But more than that, sister," continued the castle-building infant, with a profusion

of expression and ideality, uncommon in one so young.—“more than that, sister,” he cried, as he embraced her, “the king shall hear of us, and shall send an envoy for us; and he shall give to me a silken tunic, and to thee a robe of satin; and we shall go to the royal palace, amongst beautiful ladies, with brodered robes, feathers, gold, and jewels; and I shall sit at the piano—what a piano! with wood bright as a looking-glass, with silver pedals, and notes of pearls and diamonds; and we shall play till the court is ravished with our music, and then we shall be caressed and embraced, and the king shall demand of me what I wish; and I shall answer, ‘what the king pleases,’ and then he shall give me a castle, and shall send for my father and mother.”

A burst of laughter interrupted the recital of the bold young piano-player, who, looking fearfully first at his sister and then quickly from side to side, perceived the stranger, who had listened in his concealment to every word which had been uttered; and now, seeing that he was discovered, he approached the children with a smiling countenance, exclaiming, “Do not be afraid, my children; for the great St. John Nepomucene has sent me as an envoy to you.” The innocent children looked in each other’s faces at these words, and then they gazed upon the pretended messenger.

“Ah, well, so much the better,” cried the boy; “if you are his envoy, you have done what I wish, I hope.”

“No, no,” said the stranger, seating himself upon the trunk of a tree, and placing Wolfgang and his more aged and more bashful sister before him, “I shall only grant what you desire upon condition that you answer me truly the questions I shall ask you; and I shall know if you lie.”

“I never lie,” said the little boy proudly.

“I shall see whether you do or not,” said the stranger, smiling, and patting him on the head. “What is your father’s name?”

“Leopold Mozart,” said the boy, bowing. “He is chapel-master, and plays upon the violin and piano, but oftener the violin.”

“And does thy mother still live?”

“Yes, she does,” said Wolfgang, smiling, “and a dear mother is mine.”

“How many children are there of you?” continued the stranger, in an interested manner.

The little boy shook his head, as if he

did not know, and remained silent, while his sister, taking up the word, modestly replied, “We are seven in all, but two only remain, my brother and I; the others have all died.”

“And your father is very poor, my dear child?” said the stranger, in a kindly tone, to the little girl.

“Ah, yes, very poor,” she exclaimed, while the tears started into her eyes. “Look,” said she, holding up the piece of bread which yet remained untasted, “that is all the bread that we had in the house this morning, and when my mother gave it to us she bade us go to the fields and eat it, for it grieved her to see us fare so poorly.”

“Poor children,” said the stranger, with lively emotion, “where do your parents dwell?”

“Above there, upon the hill, sir,” in that little house whose roof you can perceive from where we stand,” replied Wolfgang.

“That house belongs to Dusseck, the musician, I know,” said the stranger, looking upward in the direction pointed out by the children. “And now tell me,” he continued, while he patted their cheeks and smiled to them, and at the same time wiped a tear from his eye—“tell me what you demanded of the great Nepomucene, when I saw you praying a little ago.”

“That we might discover the means of gaining money, and assisting our parents,” said the little girl, quietly; “and my brother declares that he has discovered those means, although I much fear that he has not.”

“If Wolfgang is able to play well upon the piano, as he said, his idea can be put in operation,” said the stranger, smiling, “and I can aid him.”

“My brother is only six years of age,” said the little girl, looking fondly on the boy, “but he can compose very beautiful pieces already, my father says.”

“Compose, and he so young!” cried the astonished envoy of the great St. John, as he looked half-doubtingly on the child.

“Are you astonished at this?” said Wolfgang, laughing, and holding up his pretty head. “Ah, well, come to our house, and you shall see.”

The stranger bent his head, reflected for a moment, and then said in a half-serious, half-jocular way, “My dear children, the great Nepomucene, that much revered saint of Bohemia, wills that you now return to the home of your parents, remain there all day, and before evening comes you shall

hear some news." The stranger was retiring, after speaking these words, when the lively little Wolfgang caught him by the skirts of his tunic, and exclaimed, "One word, sir. My sister Fredrika did not tell you that we prayed that Nepomucene might send a dinner to my mother—might he not send it, then, sir, to-day?" and the boy looked archly at the envoy.

"Your mother may depend upon it," said the stranger, laughing. "Is there anything else he can send to yourselves?"

"Nothing, sir," cried the lively children in one breath, as they clasped each other's hands, and set out for home; "we wish but happiness to our father and mother."

The home of Leopold Mozart, which stood upon the hill of Kosoheez, and overlooked a lovely landscape of cultured fields, and dense forest, and rolling river, was not a very great house, nor was it superbly furnished. One large apartment served as many purposes as the solitary subject of the Grand-duchess of Hesse Darmstadt, who was army, police, and court, peasant, and "organization of labor," all in his own single person. The principal chamber of Leopold Mozart's home served for kitchen, dining-room, and parlor. On one side was a lofty chimney, with stew-pans suspended in the inside thereof; the other side was occupied by a piano, over which, suspended from the wall, hung a violin. In the centre stood a table of black wood, and surrounding it were several seats formed of straw. As the children entered this humble apartment, they were met by a young woman, whose neat and clean appearance bespoke industry and order, but whose face was indicative of anxiety and care. "And wherefore are you so soon returned, my children?" said she, embracing Wolfgang and Fredrika.

"Hillo! Wolfgang and Fredrika returned so early from the fields," exclaimed a man at the same time, who had just followed them into the house, and whose handsome form, intelligent features, and easy carriage and language, but ill-accorded with his humble threadbare raiment; "and what curious sights have you seen this morning?" he repeated, fondling the boy.

"Curious enough, I tell you, my dear father," cried the lively child. "We saw the messenger of John of Nepomucene; and what a messenger! He had such a figure as you see in a picture, and the air of a king."

"And did he speak to you, my boy?" said the chapel-master, smiling.

"Ay, that he did," cried Wolfgang, with an arch expression, "and he will be here soon after he has sent dinner, and when I begin to play a sonata on the piano."

M. Mozart could not restrain his laughter at the excessive simplicity of his little boy, and, placing him on his knee, he exclaimed, in a tone of raillery, "And shall he give you anything else but dinner, Wolfgang?"

"Yes, father, a palace, and valets, and fine robes, and plenty of money;" and the boy continued to prattle on in this style until a loud tapping was heard at the door of the chapel-master's humble house. When Madame Mozart opened the door, a little covered vehicle was standing before it, with two attendants in charge of it.

"Is this Leopold Mozart's, the chapel-master," said a fat, portly man, who puffed and blew, either with the exertion of whipping up the little horses, or carrying the flesh that covered his bones.

"Yes, sir," said Madame Mozart, making a low courtesy, for it was seldom that she had the pleasure of even seeing so fat a man.

"Then the person whom Wolfgang Mozart met in the wood this morning sends the dinner he promised;" and so saying the cook and his assistant covered the black centre-table with rich and well-cooked viands.

M. Mozart and his wife gazed in stupefied wonder upon the rich succulent food which was set before them, ready to be eaten, and at last finding speech—"You must tell me to whom I owe this mysterious banquet," said the chapel-master, as he recovered from his astonishment; but the fat, burly cook shook his head, declared that the children knew as much of their benefactor as he could tell, then, bidding them good-day, he mounted his vehicle, and, driving off quickly, left the family of Mozart in a state of wonder and amazement.

"He must indeed be the envoy of some good saint, who could do so kind a deed," said the mother of Wolfgang, as she looked round the table with a tearful eye, "and although the name of the good man is unknown, his memory nevertheless lives in our hearts."

Just as the feast was being ended, and while the hearts of the family danced within them with a livelier joy than they had

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felt for many a day, the clock of a neighboring convent struck two, and little Wolfgang, as if recalled to himself by the sound, left his seat, and approached the piano. "The stranger," said he, as if speaking to himself, "looked astonished when Fredrika told him that I could compose; but were he in this house now, I should let him hear such a sonata." As he spake, the child ran his tiny little fingers along the touches, which he could hardly reach, with an ease and precision which it was astonishing to look upon; then, as if the sound recalled some bright glorious vision, beyond mortal ken, his little eyes closed, his face became lighted with a most seraphic expression, and, abandoning himself to the instrument, he produced sounds so soft, so perfect, so decided, and so harmonious, that even his father and mother sat mute with astonishment. The rich and capricious fancy of the infantile composer seemed to have taken the wings of an angel, and to have attuned that instrument with the melodious thrilling harpings of heaven. His little bosom heaved as his feeble, tiny fingers swept over the ivory and ebon touches with the ease and rapidity of the most accomplished master, and his face was suffused with a soft rapturous smile, as the harmony that filled his soul lent its magic influences to that passive piano. The poet-musician—for in music there is a glorious, lofty element of poetry—forgot everything in the fulness of his devotion to his art. The sounds of the far-off land, where hosts of cherubim, seated on rainbow-rims, struck their lyric-strings, till the hills of heaven sent back the strains again, seemed to waken his young genius from the latent slumbers of its youth. He, so lately from that pure fresh heaven above, where all is bliss, and glory, and brightness, that we forget when we come down upon the earth, seemed to have retained in all its fulness of power the music-language of the hosts above. He could still speak to them, and hear them, through the sense of exquisite genius.

"Oh, embrace me, my boy!" cried the enraptured father with enthusiasm, as he held the feeble child to his bosom, and looked upon him with all the pride of a father and an artist. "With God's help," he cried, "thou shalt one day be a great man." Then suddenly desponding, as he reflected for a moment upon his true position, he exclaimed, in a sad tone, "But who in all the world knows of thee but thy

father, my poor boy? who shall lead thee from the obscurity of this little dwelling, and the humble condition of a chapel-master's son? who shall raise thee from the depths of misery and poverty and become thy protector?"

"I will," cried a voice from behind, and, turning round towards the spot whence the response proceeded, Wolfgang, with pleasure, recognized the envoy of St. John Nepomucene; and Leopold Mozart, with awe and wonder, inclined his head as he recognized Francis I. of Austria, who had come to spend some time in the quiet seclusion of Kosoheez, and whom he had frequently seen at the chapel.

A few days after this adventure Wolfgang and his father set out for Vienna, in order to appear at the court of the Empress Marie Theresa, at the command of her husband the emperor.

"Beginning a life of labor at six years of age. Alas!" said his mother, weeping, "how hard is the lot of the poor!"

"I shall work for you, my mother, and a life of labor shall then be a life of pleasure," cried the child, as he threw his arms round her neck, and kissed her.

Wolfgang Mozart, dressed in a gay court costume, was led to the imperial palace of Vienna, and conducted by the master of the ceremonies into the concert-hall. It was tenantless when the little musician entered, but the first thing that attracted his eyes was a splendid piano, before which he quickly and almost instinctively seated himself, while his father passed out upon a balcony which commanded a noble view of the splendid royal gardens. Alone in the great saloon, with his instrument before him, the boy began to play, timidly at first, for the full rich tones of the grand instrument seemed to fill the whole spacious apartment with a tremulous sense of life; then, as his ear became familiar with the tones, he burst into one of his most beautiful strains of improvisation, and gave himself wholly up to his instrument. The boy, lost in the fancies which gave life and the power of a noble accentuation to his fingers, and the chords which they touched, did not observe the rustling of silken robes, the waving of perfumed plumes, the glitter of gems and gold, and the sparkling of pearls, nor the soft footfalls of little feet, as the gay courtly train entered the saloon. It was only when he had finished, and the last vibration of the instrument had died away, that he looked around, and found

himself gazed on by bright eyes, and regarded with lovely smiling countenances.

"How beautifully you play!" cried a little girl, as she ran to the side of the little musician, and took his hand. "Will you teach me to play as well?"

"Ah, it is a wearisome, toilsome thing to learn to play," said the boy, innocently. "You must sit long, and grow tired, and then begin again. I will not learn you until you are bigger, and then you will not feel it so sore upon you."

"And who taught you?" said the child, as she parted his curls and looked into his eyes.

"My father, and the good St. John Nepomucene," said the boy, archly.

"Then you and the saint may learn me," cried the little Princess Marie Antoinette, clapping her hands at the thought.

"Great princesses do not need the saints to teach them," said the boy; "they don't need to play for bread."

Wolfgang Mozart, at the age of eight years, appeared before the court of Versailles and ravished his auditory with the precocity of his genius. He played the organ in the chapel royal, before the king and his courtiers, in a style that had never been surpassed by the most accomplished masters. At that early period of his life, he composed two sonatas, which are still extant to attest the richness of his fancy and the fulness of his powers of development. One of these he dedicated to Victoire, daughter to the King of France, and the other to the Countess of Tesse. In 1768, he returned to Vienna, where he composed, at fourteen years of age, his opera of "Mithridates," which was honored with twenty successive performances.

In 1776, a young man sat in a quiet retired box in an opera-house in Paris, with his head resting upon his hand, listening to the performance of the celebrated "Alceste," whose glorious strains fell almost unregarded upon the ears of the cold throng, who had come determined to condemn it. The young man was of small stature, and his long fair hair fell round his pale cheeks and neck, but his countenance was as beautiful as that of an Apollo Belvidere, and it seemed to sympathize with every emotional change of the opera. Beside him stood a handsome man, whose eyes rolled from side to side of the theatre with an expression of blended chagrin and defiance, and whose lips quivered, as he strove to return the half-sneering glances that were sometimes cast on

him from loungers in the opposite tiers of boxes. The curtain fell at last amidst solemn silence; not a solitary plaudit greeted the labors and hopes of the Chevalier de Gluck, whose opera had just died of cold contempt and envy. The composer stood still as a statue, and not a muscle of his handsome features moved, as hundreds of eyes were fixed upon him, and hundreds of lips were curled in affected pity. He felt that the fruits of his genius had deserved another fate, and, proud in that consciousness, he looked forth calmly upon his enemies. The young man who sat beside him seemed alone overpowered with his emotions in all that vast assembly, or he was lost in reverie, for the curtain had fallen some time before he seemed to be aware of the fact. At last he suddenly roused himself, looked quickly and furtively round upon the audience, then suddenly throwing himself into the arms of his friend, while he burst into tears, he passionately exclaimed, "Ah, the barbarians—the cold, frigid hearts of ice and bronze—what now could move them?"

"Ah, never mind, my dear boy," whispered Gluck in his ear, while he pressed him to his breast, and his lip now visibly quivered; "they shall do me justice in thirty years hence. Now, however, the commendation of Wolfgang Mozart is worth a world of such fame as they could give."

It was little Wolfgang whom the chevalier pressed to his heart so tenderly, and whose opinion he now valued so highly. The visioned glories that had danced before the mental eyes of the fanciful boy had known something like reality, and that, too, at an early age. He had won the flattery and applause of courts and kings; he had sat before assembled thousands of the proudest and the gayest of the world's great peers, and he had created for them sources of exquisite enjoyment, which their senses had never known before, and which their imaginings had never conceived. At last he sat in his own sweet home at Vienna, revelling in melodious harmonic dreams, and swan-like singing his soul away, while his mortal frame dissolved in the fervor of his spirit.

One day Mozart sat at his piano, with his head inclined upon the touches, and his eyes half-closed. He was weary and feeble, for his body had yielded to his active spirit the tribute which the physical frame ever pays to genius. Wolfgang's cheek was pale, and his brow was heavy—for he had

expended the rosy tints of the one and the glories of the other in his devotion to his art, and now he leaned quietly forward upon the instrument which slept in his sleep. Before him also lay paper in confused piles, scraps of unfinished sonatas and oratorios—fragmentary symbols of the revellings of his fancy, which by the magic of their power would yet create worlds of thought and wild joys in sympathetic souls unborn. Instruments lay scattered all around the room, like a hundred voiceless tongues, of which this weary, feeble man was the soul—the only revelant and awakener.

"Awake, Wolfgang," said a voice in the ear of the sleeping composer, and Mozart, raising his head from its recumbent position, looked calmly and without apparent wonder in the face of his visitor. That face, however, could not be very distinctly scanned, for it was covered with long black hair, and shaded by a dark cloak and broad hat.

"What do you require of me?" demanded the composer at last, when he had passed his hand across his brow, and recovered sufficient energy to speak.

"I address myself to Wolfgang Mozart?" said the stranger, in a deep low voice, and in a tone of interrogatory.

"And to whom have I the honor to speak?" replied the musician.

"To one who would have you compose a requiem before this day month, and who would pay you amply for it."

"A requiem!" said Mozart, musing, and smoothing his high polished brow with his palm. "Come to me, then, and it shall be done."

With all the enthusiasm of which his ardent nature was capable, he devoted himself to this work. When his wife would hang over him, and beseech him to forego such close application to study, he would smile and exclaim, "I labor for my own death." Indeed, the fire of that composition was supplied by the vital warmth of his lifeblood. Death he felt was in his cup, as he bent his noble head over the page, which received upon its white bosom the transfusions of his life, and the records of his immortality; but still, with an ardor that knew no abatement, and a devotion which partook of all that religious unction of which his soul was so full, he labored to leave his sublime thoughts to posterity, and as the swan upon its crystal river sings as its lovely form floats downward to its death, so he, singing as man never sung, finished his

"Agnus Dei" with his expiring breath and strength, then laid him down in sleep.

They placed the body of the young man—for he was only thirty-six years of age—upon a splendid bier, and they covered him with a richly-broidered pall, and the deep-toned organ pealed through the long aisles and lofty arches of the cathedral, and five hundred voices chanted the soft, solemn, soul-subduing requiem over him who had once been a little, ragged, hungry child, fain to wander by the banks of the Moldau, and in the woods of Kosoheez, in order to forget that he had no dinner; but who had now won fame even before death, and whom his own generation, as well as posterity, delighted and delight to honor, as the most eminent musical genius of any age.

CULTIVATION OF TASTE.—I cannot help taking notice of an opinion which many persons entertain, as if the taste were a separate faculty of the mind, and distinct from the judgment and imagination: a species of instinct by which we are struck naturally, and at the first glance, without any previous reasoning, with the excellencies or the defects of a composition. So far as the imagination and the passions are concerned, I believe it true that the reason is little consulted; but where disposition, where decorum, where congruity are concerned—in short, wherever the best taste differs from the worst, I am convinced that the understanding operates, and nothing else; and its operations are in reality far from being always sudden, or when they are sudden, they are often far from being right. Men of the best taste, by consideration, come frequently to change their early precipitate judgment, which the mind from its aversion to neutrality and doubt, loves to form on the spot. It is known that the taste (whatever it is) is improved exactly as we improve our judgments, by extending our knowledge, by a steady attention to our object, and by frequent exercise. They who have not taken these methods, if their taste decides quickly, it is always uncertainly; and their quickness is owing to their presumption and rashness, and not to any sudden irradiation that in a moment dispels all darkness from their minds. But they who have cultivated that species of knowledge which makes the object of taste, by degrees and habitually, attain not only a soundness, but a readiness of judgment, as men do by the same methods on all other occasions. At first they are obliged to spell, but at last they read with ease and with celerity; but this celerity of its operation is no proof that the taste is a distinct faculty. Nobody, I believe, has attended the course of a discussion, which turned upon matters within the sphere of mere naked reason, but must have observed the extreme readiness with which the whole process of the argument is carried on, the grounds discovered, the objections raised and answered, and the conclusions drawn from premises, with a quickness altogether as great as the taste can be supposed to work with; and yet where nothing but plain reason either is or can be suspected to operate. To multiply principles for every different appearance is useless, and unphilosophical too, in a high degree.—*Burke*.

From Hogg's Weekly Instructor.

NAPOLEON AND HIS SISTER.

THE emperor had reached the zenith of his prosperity. He was making kings with as much ease as he was making marshals. Murat had just been transferred from the Grand Duchy of Berg to the throne of Naples, when one morning a carriage drove into my court-yard and a lady alighted from it. Ah, Misericorde! I exclaimed, it is her imperial highness the Princess de Guastalla (Madame Borghese, the beautiful Pauline Bonaparte). I was hastening down stairs to receive her with all due ceremony, when happening to pass a window which looked out to the garden, I beheld advancing towards the house—who but the emperor himself. He rang at a back door, usually appropriated to the servants and entered. He was, I think, accompanied by Berthier. Here was a rencontre! It was Scylla and Charybdis! I might, perhaps, have feigned not to recognize the emperor, but with a most imperative gesture, he beckoned me to him. I therefore turned to the right about, and leaving the princess to find her way to the drawing-room unattended, I hurried to the emperor.

"Prince," said he, as soon as I was in his presence, "I know that my sister wishes to speak with you. Show me into an adjoining room, where I may hear her break her thunderbolts. Say what you can to appease her, but do not pledge me for anything. Go to her quickly—she will never forgive you for keeping her waiting."

I thought of the fatal position of Germanicus with Nero, in Racine's tragedy, in the scene in which Junie complains to the former of the cruelty of the latter. I had prepared myself for a most violent reception, but all my expectations fell short of the reality. The princess, as soon as she saw me, taxed me with my want of respect, and complained of not having found me waiting to receive her at the door of my hotel. This first ebullition of ill humor being exhausted, I said—

"Madam, if your imperial highness had been pleased to give me notice of your intention to confer on me this honor, I should undoubtedly have observed the due etiquette. But as I am not endowed with prescience, it was only a few minutes ago that I learned from my servants that the sister of our august monarch was in my house."

"His sister, sir! rather say an unfortunate, a forsaken, a miserable slave!"

"Is it possible, madam, that enjoying as you do the favor of his imperial majesty, you can have any cause of complaint?"

"His favor! What a mockery! Does he show his favor by degrading me?"

"No, madam, but by having elevated you to the dignity of an imperial princess, by having conferred on you the Duchy of Guastalla, and united you to a Roman prince!"

"A brilliant marriage, truly! An illustrious rank! I have indeed reason to congratulate myself when I see Caroline a queen, my sister-in-law a queen, and then Josephine's daughter a queen, or on the point of becoming one: and I suppose there is a kingdom in store for Jerome's wife! Eliza, too, will be crowned by and by; whilst I am nothing—hear me, Prince Cambaceres. Go immediately to Bonaparte, and tell him, that if he does not raise me to the dignity of queen, I have a terrible vengeance in reserve for him."

"But which your sisterly affection will not permit you to inflict." "My affection! I hate him—he is a monster."

"Hush! princess!" I exclaimed, with some alarm. "Know that in France walls have ears."

"I care not—I defy his police—and I would tell him all I have said to his face. I will seek refuge in England, or he shall perish by my hand."

I became more and more alarmed, and I was about to reply, when the emperor saved me the trouble. He opened the door, and presented himself to the princess.

"Maniac!" he exclaimed, "you shall not go to England, but to Clarenton."

"Ah! so you have followed me," she said. "Then you thought I really intended to throw myself into the Seine, as I threatened! I have come here to request Prince Cambaceres to intercede for me.—Now, my dear Napoleon, I must have a crown. I don't care where it is. Make me queen of Portugal—or Denmark, what you will—I would even reign in Switzerland or in Corfu—no matter where—but a crown I must have. Am I to be the only one of the family who does not wear one? Oh, Napoleon! your unkindness will kill me!"

With these words, she burst into a flood of tears. The capricious beauty had changed her imperious tone to one of supplication and tender reproach. The Princess Pauline was certainly a most fascinating woman; but at that moment she appeared to be more charming than ever. I could not wonder at the ascendancy she gained over the emperor. He was at first in a violent rage; but his anger was gradually soothed, and when Pauline stopped short in her appeal to him and burst into tears, he advanced to her and said affectionately—

"My dear sister, why are you not satisfied? I am doing all I can for you. Kingdoms cannot be created at my will. Besides, your husband is not a Frenchman."

"Let me have a divorce, then."—"Heaven forbid!"—"I will be a queen, or I will go to London."—"You shall go to Vincennes."—"I defy you! I will strangle myself as I enter."

I know not what circumstance was recalled to Napoleon's mind by this threat! but his brow lowered, his eyes flashed, and he bit his lips till he almost drew blood; and then in a voice faltering with emotion, he exclaimed: "So much the better, Madame. You will rid me of a termagant, whom I find it more difficult to govern than all Europe together! I see that you are only to be ruled with a rod of iron. I therefore command you to go immediately to Madame Mère, and there await the orders which the Prince Arch-Chancellor shall deliver to you from me."

"Then will you make me a queen? I must be crowned."

"Really, Pauline, to hear you, one would imagine that I had wronged you of your right of succession to the late king our father."

I had never before known the emperor to have recourse to this sort of pleasantry, but I often afterwards heard him employ similar language. On the occasion which I have first been describing, this good-humored touch of satire had an excellent effect. Pauline blushed, and a rapid glance at the past reminded her of her humble origin, contrasted as it was with the high rank to which her brother had raised her. A sudden change was effected in her feelings; she hung down her head, and was evidently

mortified and ashamed. Napoleon asked her whether she had come alone. She named one of her ladies, I do not recollect whom, and said she was waiting in another apartment.

"Let her come in," said the emperor.

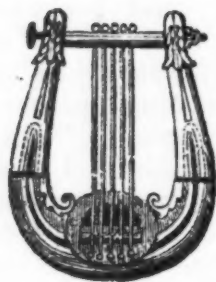
I rang—the order was given, and the lady appeared. The emperor directed her not to lose sight of the Princess Borghese, and then, turning to me, he added: "Let us retire to your cabinet."

"I am at your majesty's disposal," replied I; "but permit me first to observe the ceremony due to the Princess."

"Well, well! only be quick!"

He proceeded to my cabinet, and I escorted the Princess to her carriage. As soon as I had got rid of her, I flew to wait on the emperor. I found him walking about the room with hurried steps.

"Well, prince!" said he, as soon as I entered, "this is one of the thousand disagreeable scenes which, tyrant as they say I am, I am compelled to endure. This morning Pauline came to me, commenced an altercation, assumed an imperative tone, and ended by threatening to drown herself. Seeing the excited state she was in, and knowing her violent temper, I became alarmed. She left me; I followed her, and as soon as she stepped into her carriage, I took possession of the first cabriolet I saw standing in the court-yard of the Tuileries. She drove across the bridges; I suspected she was coming to you—I entered by your back door; and you know the rest. A crown for a Borghese! Such a proposition would excite an insurrection in the army! The Borghese are of pure blood-royal, I know; but the kings of my creation must be of my own blood, and must have received the baptism of the sword. However, I am anxious to soothe Pauline. Her husband shall be made governor of Piedmont. Tell her this from me; and, moreover, that I will give her a million francs to clear off her debts and re-set her diamonds. A million francs! What a sum. How much happiness it would diffuse if distributed! Ah, prince! What a cross is a numerous family to a man like me! I have always envied the happiness of Melchisedech, who never knew father, mother, brother, and, above all, sisters."—*Evenings with Cambaceres.*



From Hogg's Instructor.

SMILES.

BY MRS. H. ROLLS.

What is that smile, that o'er the cheek
Of artless, blooming childhood strays;
That revels in the dimple sleek,
And charms the mother's tender gaze?
Tis the bright sun of April's morn,
That rises with unsullied ray,
Nor marks the clouds that swift are borne,
To wrap in shades the future day.

What is that soft, that tender smile,
That mingles with the rising sigh?
Light spreads the timid blush the while,
And sweetly sinks the melting eye?
Tis the bright sunbeam on the rose,
That lights away the early shower—
That will its folded leaves enclose,
And in full fragrance spread the flower.

What is that smile, whose rapturous glow
Passion's impetuous breath inspires;
While pleasure's gaudy blossoms blow,
And the eye beams with guilty fires?
'Tis the volcano's direful blaze,
Which sheds around its fatal light;
The victim dies that stops to gaze,
And safety is but found in flight.

What is that sad, that transient smile,
That dawns upon the lip of wo;
That checks the deep-drawn sigh the while,
And stays the tear that starts to flow?
'Tis but a meteor o'er the heart,
When youth's gay dreams have pass'd away;
When joy's faint, ling'ring days depart,
And the last gleams of hope decay.

What is that bright, that fearful smile,
Quick flashing o'er the brow of care,
When fades each fruit of mental toil,
And nought remains to check despair?
'Tis the wild lurid lightning's gleam,
Swift bursting from a stormy cloud,
That sheds a bright destructive beam,
Then sinks amid its sable shroud.

What is that smile, calm, fix'd at last,
On the hoar brow of reverend age,
When the world's changing scenes depart,
And nearly closed life's weary page?
'Tis the rich, glowing, western beam,
Bright mantling o'er the dark'ning skies,
That shows, by its mild parting beam,
A cloudless, heavenly morn to rise.

THE LAST FAREWELL.

BY JAMES HENDERSON.

Why wilt thou weep, my mother? Thou art sigh-
ing—

Sad is thy heart!
I feel thy tears upon my pale cheek lying,
Yet we must part.
Life from my throbbing bosom now is flying
With every breath;
My eyes grow darkly dim; and I am dying—
And is this death?

I grieve to leave thee now; yet thou hast told me
There is a land
Where we shall meet—where thou wilt yet behold
me,

Thy loved one, stand;
Where, robed in light, unnumber'd angels bend-
ing—

A shining throng—
Strike golden harps, with sinless glory blending
Celestial song.

Can I be happy there, when thou, my mother,
Art gone from me?
And in that land, oh! shall I find another
As kind as thee?
Shall I be glad? Can there be aught will cheer me—
Asunder riven
From thee, whose smiles with joy were ever near
me—

Whose love was heaven?

Yet thou wilt come and dwell with me for ever
Beyond the skies,
In blissful spheres, where death can enter never,
Nor tears, nor sighs.
I will be there, and welcome thee to pleasures
Without alloy;
I will be there, and lead thee unto treasures
Of endless joy.

I'll roam with thee where stars arise entrancing
The sapphire way;
I'll lead thee where the rainbow arches, glancing
With many a ray.
Thou shalt be happy there—no tear bedimming
Thine eye's pure shine;
Thou shalt be happy there with angels hymning
The strains divine.

But now the pangs of icy death oppress me;
Oh! do not weep!
I see thee not, yet thou art near to bless me;
I soon shall sleep.
Methinks I hear celestial voices humming
My passing knell;
In golden spheres I'll fondly wait thy coming.
Farewell, farewell!

SUNSET.

Is it the foot of God
Upon the waters, that they seethe and blaze,
As when of old he trod
The desert ways,
And through the night
Fearful and far his pillar poured its light?

Oh for quick wings to fly
Under the limit of yon dazzling verge,
Where bright tints rapidly
In brighter merge,
And yet more bright,
Till light becomes invisible through light!

What wonder that of yore
Men held thee for a deity, great sun,
Kindling thy pyre before
Thy race is run,
Casting life down
At pleasure, to resume it as a crown?

Or that our holier prayer
Still consecrates thy symbol, that our fanes
Plant their pure altars where
Thine Eastern glory rains,
And thy bright West
Drops prophet-mantles on our bed of rest?

Here, watching, let us kneel
'Through the still darkness of this grave-like
time,
Till on our ears shall steal
A whisper, then a chime,
And then a chorus: earth has burst her prison,
The Sign is in the skies! the Sun is risen!

TEARS.

BY CAPT. M'NAUGHTEN.

There is a tear that early flows,
The first to fall, like morning dew,
And leaves, like it, the cheek's young rose
Unsear'd in form, undimm'd in hue.
It springs but from some transient pain,
And chasing smiles are always near;
'Tis lightly shed, like April rain—
And this is childhood's guileless tear.

There is a tear than smiles more bright,
Which springs into the beaming eye,
And sparkles there in all the light
Which souls new blest in love supply.
Hopes perfected, but which the heart
Deem'd fate's hand lifted to destroy,
Will make it into being start—
This is the tear of cordial joy.

There is a tear more sweet and soft
Than beauty's smiling lip of love,
By angel's eyes first wept, and oft
On earth by eyes like those above:
It flows from virtue at distress—
It soothes, like hope, our sufferings here:
'Twas given, and is shed to bless—
'Tis sympathy's celestial tear.

From Tait's Magazine.

HOPE'S WHISPER.

BY COLIN RAE BROWN.

Sore tried with suffering, yet upheld by faith, she
died;
Her near ones wept—I could not weep, but sighed.
The time for parting came, and, weeping, forth I
went;
But far I had not gone ere all my strength was spent.
The night was chilly, but the lamps of heaven shone
bright;
And the round full moon poured earthward floods
of light.
No sound heard I, save the low murmur of a stream
That only made my loneliness more lonely seem.—
I felt as one might feel watching at night, alone,
By some sick couch, list'ning to the sufferer's moan.
A sense of dreariness came o'er me; and methought
I shrank into myself—as if with fear o'erwrought.
Oh, man! why is it that, when death doth thee
bereave
Of those round whom thy soul's affections thou
did'st weave,
Grieving, thou standest, statue-like, and weepest o'er
The lost and loved ones who will gladden thee no
more?
Weep thou a sea of tears—they will not come again!
Breathe thou a world of sighs—the dead, the dead
remain!
While thus I reasoned—lo! adown the clear blue
sky
A bright star shot, and for a moment caught mine
eye.
Then, swift as shot that star, fled dreariness away;
Hope whispering to my soul, "Come shall a glori-
ous day,
When sphere-divided spirits yet shall re-unite,
And, linked in sweet communion, pass through
worlds of light!
Eternal bliss rewarding faith and trust in Him
Round whom they shine with seraphim and che-
rubim."
Mighty the influence of that low, sweet spirit-voice!
I felt myself expand again!—my soul rejoice!
And lightly journeyed homeward, sagely pondering
o'er
The life we pass through now, and that which lays
before.

SONNET.—MY FRIEND'S LIBRARY.

BY HENRY FRANK LOTT.

Oh! what a precious casket hast thou there
Fill'd with the brilliant gems of human thought!
All Song has breathed of—all that Truth has
taught—
Selected with judicious taste and care:
Mind-lightnings from brave bold men who dare
Rend off the veil by ignorance darkly wrought
O'er Reason's vision—thunders that have brought
On tyrants' cheeks the pallor of despair.
When from the daily world, whose grovellings damp
Thine ardent spirit, sad thou turns't away
To grieve how gold pollutes, how fetters cramp
Body and soul, as if God held no sway,
Here thou reviv'st thy hopes, while gleams thy lamp
O'er page of moralist or poet's lay.

THE LIGHT IN THE WINDOW.

BY CHARLES MACKAY, LL.D.

Late or early home returning,
 In the starlight or the rain,
 I beheld that lonely candle
 Shining from his window-pane.
 Ever o'er his tattered curtain,
 Nightly looking, I could scan,
 Aye inditing,
 Writing—writing,
 The pale figure of a man ;
 Still discern behind him fall
 The same shadow on the wall.

Far beyond the murky midnight,
 By dim burning of his oil,
 Filling aye his rapid leaflets,
 I have watched him at his toil ;
 Watched his broad and sunny forehead,
 Watched his white industrious hand,
 Ever passing
 And repassing ;
 Watched and strove to understand
 What impelled it—gold or fame—
 Bread or bubble of a name.

Oft I've asked, debating vainly
 In the silence of my mind,
 What the services he rendered
 To his country or his kind ;
 Whether tones of ancient music,
 Or the sound of modern gong,
 Wisdom holy,
 Humors lowly,
 Sermon, essay, novel, song,
 Or philosophy sublime,
 Filled the measure of his time.

Of the mighty world at London,
 He was portion unto me,
 Portion of my life's experience,
 Fused into my memory.
 Twilight saw him at his folios,
 Morning saw his fingers run,
 Laboring ever,
 Wearying never
 Of the task he had begun ;
 Placid and content he seemed,
 Like a man that toiled and dreamed.

No one sought him, no one knew him,
 Undistinguished was his name ;
 Never had his praise been uttered
 By the oracles of fame.
 Scanty fare and decent raiment,
 Humble lodging, and a fire—
 These he sought for,
 These he wrought for,
 And he gained his meek desire ;
 Teaching men by written word—
 Clinging to a hope deferred.

So he lived. At length I missed him,
 Still might evening twilight fall,
 But no taper lit his lattice—
 Lay no shadow on his wall.
 In the winter of his seasons,

In the midnight of his day,
 'Mid his writing,
 And inditing,
 Death had beckoned him away—
 Ere the sentence he had planned
 Found completion at his hand.

But this man, so old and nameless,
 Left behind him projects large,
 Schemes of progress undeveloped,
 Worthy of a nation's charge ;
 Noble fancies uncompleted,
 Germs of beauty immatured,
 Only needing
 Kindly feeding
 To have flourished and endured ;
 Meet reward in golden store
 To have lived for ever more.

Who shall tell what schemes majestic
 Perish in the active brain ?
 What humanity is robbed of,
 Ne'er to be restored again ?
 What we lose, because we honor
 Overmuch the mighty dead,
 And dispirit
 Living merit,
 Heaping scorn upon its head ?
 Or perchance, when kinder grown,
 Leaving it to die—alone !

THE LILIES OF THE FIELD.

BY JAMES HENDERSON.

Each at the dawn uprears its silver chalice,
 When day-spring ushers in the dewy morn—
 Gems that make bright the sweet sequestered valleys,
 Day-stars that mead and mountain glen adorn !
 God said "Let there be light!" and lo, creation
 Shone forth with smiles emparadised and fair,
 Then man had Eden for a habitation,
 And ye, bright children of the spring, were there !

Ye came to bless the eye when sin had clouded
 The glorious earth with ruin pale and wan ;
 Ye came to cheer the heart when sin had shrouded
 With peril dark and dread the fate of man !
 Ye came to whisper with your living beauty
 A lesson to the hearts that doubting stray ;
 To win the spirit to a trusting duty,
 And guide the wanderer's steps in wisdom's way !

What though your accents, gentle, sweet, and lowly,
 Unto the silent ear no sound impart ?
 Ye whisper words all eloquent and holy,
 To wake the finer feelings of the heart !
 Meekly ye tell your emblematic story
 Of the Creator's love with pathos true,
 For Solomon, with all his pomp and glory,
 Was ne'er arrayed like any one of you !

Ay, ye have lessons for the wise, revealing
 Truths that proclaim Jehovah's bounteous love ;
 And wisdom then grows wiser, nobler, feeling
 How all that's good descendeth from above !
 Ye touch the thoughtful soul with pure emotion,
 When contemplation doth your beauties scan ;
 Ye fill the heart with calm, serene devotion,
 And breathe a moral unto erring man !



MODE OF EXTINGUISHING FIRES AT SEA.—The following letter has been addressed by Dr. Reid to a daily morning paper:—

As the danger from fire at sea is attended with so many appalling circumstances (of which we have had a recent instance in the melancholy catastrophe of the *Ocean Monarch*), I beg to submit for the public consideration, and especially underwriters, the following plan, as a cheap, simple, and efficient method of preventing the occurrence of such accidents. Flame or combustion cannot go on where there is carbonic acid gas. This is one of the elementary principles of chemistry. It may be shown in various ways. A lighted taper plunged into a jar of carbonic acid gas is instantaneously extinguished; or if we take the glass of a common argand burner, and close the upper end of it by a flat plate of glass or even by a piece of card or pasteboard, firmly, so completely as to prevent any current of air through the tube, on introducing for about an inch or so the flame of a candle at the other extremity (the glass of the argand burner being held upright), it will shortly, usually in the space of little more than a minute, be extinguished, merely by the accumulation of the carbonic acid gas produced by its own combustion. The production of carbonic acid gas completely at our command, for on adding dilute sulphuric acid to chalk, we can set at liberty, in the space of two or three minutes, enormous volumes of the so-called fixed air. The cost of material for a ship of 1,000 tons would not exceed, at the utmost, 15*l.* or 20*l.* sterling. By means of tubes proceeding from the upper deck in connexion with a cistern, containing the dilute sulphuric acid, to the quarters below where there is most likelihood of danger from fire, or moveable hose (made of gutta percha), which can be introduced into any part of the vessel—the oil of vitriol, previously diluted with water, can be at once poured over the chalk (which is to be thrown down in the place where the fire rages), and immediately the carbonic acid being set at liberty, the fire is extinguished; for combustion cannot go on in an atmosphere of carbonic acid gas. I have been much occupied experimenting on this subject, and find that from five tons of chalk as much carbonic acid gas may be obtained as will be sufficient to completely fill a vessel of 1,000 tons burden. The expense of laying the tubes will not exceed 30*l.* or 40*l.*; and, once laid, there is no further trouble or expense. I may observe also (but experiments are at variance on this subject) that it is not requisite to have an atmosphere absolutely consisting of carbonic acid gas to extinguish flame, for some experiments show that a taper does not burn in an atmosphere of three

parts atmospheric air and one part carbonic acid gas. Lightning conductors are provided for ships—surgeons also to take care of the health of the crew—assuredly no expense (and it is but a trifle) would be grudged to secure a ship and its passengers from the contingency of such a melancholy mishap as that of fire. If this method will do—and there seems to be everything in its favor—all our emigrant ships, indeed every ship, ought to be secured against a calamity which really must be held as the most dreadful that can occur to a vessel at sea.

THOMAS CARLYLE ON EDUCATION.—The following letter has been received from Mr. Carlyle, in reply to a communication made to him by the secretary of the Lancashire Public School Association, calling his attention to the objects and proceedings of that body, and requesting an expression of his opinion on the educational views embodied in the "Plan" published by the society:—Sir, I have received your letter, with the printed documents concerning the Lancashire Public School Association; all of which papers I have read with satisfaction. Accept my thanks for your civilities; and allow me to say in return that nobody can wish your enterprise more heartily than I a speedy and perfect success. Speedy or not, I believe success in such an enterprise, if wisely prosecuted, is certain; for the object is great, simple, and legitimate, at once feasible and of prime necessity; and will gradually vindicate that character for itself to every just mind, however prepossessed; so that there needs only candid exposition and discussion,—true zeal for the intrinsic result, and openness for every improvement as to the means,—to enlist all good citizens in its favor, and bring at length the whole public to co-operate with you.

Surely in all times, in all places where men are, it is the sacred, indefeasible duty, imposed by heaven itself and the oldest laws of Nature, that they who have knowledge shall seek honestly to impart it to those who have not! No man, no generation of men, has a right to pass through this world, and leave their successors in a state of ignorance which could have been avoided. No generation:—and if many generations among us English have already too much done so, it is the sadder case for England now, and the more pressing is the call for this generation of Englishmen. In all times and places it is man's solemn duty, whether done or not;—and if in any time or place, I should say it was in Lancashire, in England, in these years that are now passing over us! Years swiftly rolling, laden with rapid events, overturnings, and frightful catastrophes

—admonishing all men that human darkness issues finally in human ruin; that want of wisdom does at last mean want of power to exist on this earth, where, as it has been said, "If you will not have illumination from above, you shall have conflagration from below, and whoever refuses *light* will get it in the form of *lightning* one day!"

True, the mere schoolmaster is a small element of such "illumination;" but we are never to forget that he is the first element, the indispensable preliminary of all others. Let us have the schoolmaster; we shall then be the readier to try for something more. No truth that he or another can teach us but is supported and confirmed by *all* truths. To nothing but error is or can any truth be dangerous. Who would obstruct, who would not cordially forward, a human being imparting to another any increase of real faculty, any real initiation, speculative or practical, into this universe, and its facts and laws, provided he really do impart such, and restrict himself to doing it? To know the multiplication-table, is better than not to know it. If a man will teach another to make a pair of shoes, he will enlarge the faculty, the availability of that other,—the *worth* of that other to himself and to all creatures, and to the Maker of all creatures and of him. Teach one another; see that none who could learn go untaught, if you could help him: there is no more universal law.

That jealousy for constitutional liberty, still more that scruples of religion, should obstruct this sacred, everlasting duty, so pressingly important even now, is very sad. Above all, that that religion should be found standing on the highways to say, "Let men continue ignorant of reading and arithmetic, lest they learn heterodoxy in theology; let not men learn the simplest laws of this universe, lest they mislearn the highest,"—I know not where else there is seen so altogether tragical a spectacle!—"In the name of God the Maker, who said, and hourly yet says, *let there be light*, we command that you continue in darkness!" Such a spectacle, I venture to think, will end; it ought decidedly to end, and that soon. If any portion of a man's creed, religious or constitutional, command him to stand in the way of arithmetic and the alphabet, let such portion of his creed become suspect to him!

Of the details of your scheme I do not profess to judge, without more deliberation than is now possible; and indeed my eagerness to see any scheme whatever of national education adopted (for the worst I ever heard of is better than none) might render me liable to partiality in judging. But your two principles, *first*, that of popular support and local self-government (to which, in better days, a superior and supreme national superintendency, the fit post for the highest and noblest intellect we had among us, might be superadded); and *secondly*, that of excluding all religious teaching but what is unsectarian! these clearly seem to me the only practicable principles at this epoch;—an epoch which, more than any other, calls upon us to "practise" straightway *some* principle or principles, and get a little education accomplished, if we would not fare worse before long! And therefore, with my whole heart, I bid you persevere and prosper,—Yours sincerely,

T. CARLYLE.

H. R. FORREST, Esq., Sec., &c.

THE PARTY MAN.—He has associated his ambition, his interests, and his affections with a party. He prefers, doubtless, that his side should be victorious by the best means, and under the championship of good men; but rather than lose the victory, he will

consent to *any* means, and follow *any* man. Thus, with a general desire to be upright, the exigency of his party pushes constantly to dishonorable deeds. He opposes fraud by craft; lie by lie; slander by counter-aspersions. To be sure it is wrong to misstate, to distort, to suppress, or color facts; it is wrong to employ the evil passions; to set class against class; the poor against the rich, the country against the city, the farmer against the mechanic, one section against another section. But his opponents do it, and if they will take advantage of men's corruption, he must, or lose by his virtue. He gradually adopts two characters, a personal and a political character. All the requisitions of his conscience he obeys in his private character; all the requisitions of his party, he obeys in his political conduct. In one character he is a man of principle; in the other, a man of mere expedients. As a *man*, he means to be veracious, honest, moral; as a *politician*, he is deceitful, cunning, unscrupulous,—*anything* for a party. As a man, he abhors the slimy demagogue; as a politician, he employs him as a scavenger. As a man, he shrinks from the flagitiousness of slander; as a politician, he permits it, smiles upon it in others, rejoices in the success gained by it. As a man, he respects no one who is rotten in heart; as a politician, no man through whom victory may be gained can be too bad. As a citizen, he is an apostle of temperance; as a politician, he puts his shoulder under the men who deluge their track with whiskey, marching a crew of brawling patriots, pugnaciously drunk, to exercise the freeman's noblest franchise—the vote. As a citizen, he is considerate of the young, and counsels them with admirable wisdom; then, as a politician, he votes for tools, supporting for the magistracy worshipful aspirants scraped from the ditch, the grogshop, and the brothel; thus saying by deeds which the young are quick to understand: "I jested when I warned you of bad company; for you perceive none worse than those whom I delight to honor." For his religion he will give up all his secular interests; but for his politics he gives up even his religion. He adores virtue, and rewards vice. Whilst bolstering up unrighteous measures, and more unrighteous men, he prays for the advancement of religion, and justice, and honor. I would to God that his prayer might be answered upon his own political head; for never was there a place where such blessings were more needed! I am puzzled to know what will happen at death to this politic Christian, but most unchristian politician.—*People's Journal*.

THE BETROTHED OF ROBERT EMMETT.—We copied from a Dublin paper a statement headed "The Betrothed of Robert Emmett,"—giving an account of the death in Rome of a Miss Curran, who was therein stated to be no other than the heroine of Moore's popular song and Washington Irving's touching tale. We stated at the time our disbelief; and our incredulity has received the following confirmation from an unknown correspondent, who speaks, however, with authority:—"The Miss Curran whose death took place some little time back at Rome was the eldest daughter of the late Right Hon. J. R. Curran,—her name Amelia; the Miss Curran unhappily linked to the name of the unfortunate Mr. Emmett was the youngest daughter of Mr. Curran—her name Sarah,—afterwards married to Major Sturgeon. She has been dead nearly thirty years. I have not Washington Irving's book by me; but having read it some years ago, my impression remains that the statement was correct."—*Athenæum*.

AN OPIUM DEBAUCH.—One of the objects at this place that I had the curiosity to visit was the opium smoker in his heaven; and certainly it is a most fearful sight, although perhaps not so degrading to the eyes as the drunkard from spirits, lowered to the level of the brute, and wallowing in his filth. The idiot smile and death-like stupor, however, of the opium debauchee, has something far more awful to the gaze than the bestiality of the latter.

The rooms where they sit and smoke are surrounded by wooden couches, with places for the head to rest upon, and generally a side room is devoted to gambling. The pipe is a reed of about an inch in diameter, and the aperture in the bowl for the admission of the opium is not larger than a pin's head. The drug is prepared with some kind of conserve, and a very small portion is sufficient to charge it, one or two whiffs being the utmost that can be inhaled from a single pipe, and the smoke is taken into the lungs as from the hookah in India. On a beginner one or two pipes will have an effect, but an old stager will continue smoking for hours. At the head of each couch is placed a small lamp, as fire must be held to the drug during the process of inhaling; and, from the difficulty of filling and properly lighting the pipe, there is generally a person who waits upon the smoker to perform the office. A few days of this fearful luxury, when taken to excess, will give a pallid and haggard look to the face; and a few months, or even weeks, will change the strong and healthy man into little better than an idiot or skeleton. The pain they suffer when deprived of the drug after long habit, no language can explain; and it is only when under its influence that their faculties are alive.

In the houses devoted to their ruin, these infatuated people may be seen at nine o'clock in the evening in all the different stages, some entering half distracted, to feed the craving appetite they had been obliged to subdue during the day; others laughing and talking wildly under the effects of a first pipe: while the couches around are filled with their different occupants, languid, with an idiotic smile upon their countenance, too much under the influence of the drug to care for passing events, and fast merging to the wished-for consummation.

The last scene in this tragic play is generally a room in the rear of the building, a species of dead house, where lie stretched those who have passed into the state of bliss the opium smoker madly seeks—an emblem of the long sleep to which he is blindly hurrying.—*Six Months in China, by Lord Jocelyn.*

THE MILITARY AND NAVAL EXPENDITURES OF ENGLAND.—How few people ever realize in their own minds what is the meaning of a sum of money such as 18,500,000*l.* a year, spent for the support of a warlike establishment. It was well observed by Mr. Henry Drummond, that such sums convey no more idea ordinarily of what is meant than astronomers do when they speak of the distance of this planet from the sun. The best way of impressing it on people's minds is by comparing it with something that they come in contact with in ordinary life. A Manchester man will understand us when we say that the above sum would pay for all the buildings in this borough—that two years of such expenditure would devour a sum equal to the whole of the capital employed in the cotton trade. A farmer would comprehend what we meant if we spoke of a fund which, if employed in agriculture, would pay 10*s.* a week to more than 700,000 laborers throughout the year—as much as is paid to all

the peasantry in England and Wales—or as much as would drain every year upwards of 4,000,000 acres of land. Now, if this huge outlay be necessary to preserve our shores from being invaded, our towns destroyed, and our fertile fields ravaged, then it cannot be called unproductive; on the contrary, it would enter into all production, since all capital and labor would depend upon the security afforded by our armaments for their safe employment. But every soldier not necessary for defence, and every ship of war more than is required for our security, are a pure waste and destruction of capital, yielding no return whatever.—*Manchester Times.*

POETRY AND PAINTING.—There are two good things in this world—a good speech and a good painting. It is difficult to say which is the better of the two. In many respects they are similar. Both represent ideas. A true painting embodies the lofty conceptions of the artist. The work of the true artist must have *meaning*. It must be the result, not of mechanical skill alone, but also of mental workings. The artistical blending of the colors must be accomplished according to an ideal image. It must be the outward manifestation of an outward thought. The painter must be, not the servile copyist of external nature, but the sketcher of his own vivid conceptions. So it is with a true speech. That, as well as a painting, must embody thought. The orator must accomplish the same that the painter accomplishes—the presentment of original conceptions. He must bring out the inner thoughts in bold relief and beautiful harmony. To do this he uses words as the painter uses oils. He must be an adept in word-painting. Then again, both the orator and painter must have not only the original thought as the source of their work; but also the artistical skill necessary to its representation. To do this the painter labors with his paints, mixing and analyzing them. He faithfully uses the brush in properly distributing them. The orator studies his mother-tongue; unites and analyzes words. Hence both require practice, and long, unremitted, toilsome practice. Both, too, though not servile copyists of nature, must be true to nature. To attain this end the painter studies forms in the natural world, the orator forms of language. The painter studies the human face and person—the orator studies the human heart. Both, too, must be *good men*. He is the true orator or painter who moves and satisfies man's nature: who stirs to its deepest depths the soul of man. But how can he who has not cultivated his own religious nature, develop it—come to know it; how can he find the spring of its movement in others? How can he touch the chord in another's breast who has never felt the vibrations of his own? Moreover, it is only when the religious part of man's nature governs and moulds the other parts, that the whole being attains its highest perfection. Thus do the imagination and the intellect depend upon this higher part, the religious nature. And the orator or painter who would attain the highest development of intellect or imagination, must reach it in the only way presented in the wonderful constitution of the soul. Both move the feelings. How many there are who can testify to the effect upon their soul of a genuine painting! How it excited thought, stirred emotion, awoke into active, breathing life the dormant energies of their spiritual being! And how many, too, by thrilling eloquence, have been moved in the same strong way; and under its magic power have formed the stern resolve, nerved the strong arm, and triumphed in the fearful crisis! Yes, both have strengthened the feeble knees of doubt, both girt up the loins of

weakness, both have fired zeal, both have lashed into foam the surges of the soul. So the analogy between oratory and painting might be traced still farther, showing the similarity in source, means and end.

BENEVOLENCE OF THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.—We observe from a published statement of accounts that, from the end of November 1846 to the 1st of May, 1848, the Friends in England, Ireland, and America, contributed no less a sum than 193,882*l.* 4*s.* 10*d.* for the relief of distress in Ireland. This includes 15,730*l.* 5*s.* 10*d.* in cash, and 133,780*l.* 0*s.* 7*d.*, the money value of 9,904 tons of food, sent from the United States. The Coalbrookdale Iron Company, Shropshire, made a donation of fifty-six boilers, value 147*l.* 6*s.* 5*d.* The Central Relief Committee for the Society of Friends have also entered upon the cultivation of 550 Irish, equal to 990 English acres of land, in the county of Mayo, with the view of introducing improved modes of husbandry, and benefiting the poor by the extended product of useful crops; so that, taking these great efforts in conjunction with others, no people, perhaps, ever had so much done for them as the Irish. We observe by the third Report that the few Friends residing in the city of Hereford contributed 43*l.* 5*s.* towards the Relief fund above specified, and those of Leominster, 81*l.* 13*s.* 6*d.* There are three donations of 20*l.* each, two of 10*l.*, and six of 5*l.*

COMPANIES IN THE CITY OF LONDON.—There are eighty-three City Companies; forty-one of which—nearly a half—are without halls. Some exist merely for the sake of the charities at their disposal—or for the annual dinners on the 9th of November, which the bequests of members, anterior perhaps to the Reformation, enable them to discuss. Others exist but nominally—like the Bowyers, Fletchers, and Long Bowstring-makers; and some, like the Patten-makers, owing to the smallness of the fees which they exact from those who are obliged to take up the freedom of the City. Of the twelve great companies, as they are called, upwards of two-thirds are rich,—not from what they make, but from what they possess. The acting companies are really very few in number. The Goldsmiths' (one of the twelve great companies) is perhaps the chief; and after the Goldsmiths', the Stationers'—a company rather low in point of time (for printing was a late invention), but certainly one of the most important. All our great stationers and printers and booksellers were members of this company,—Tottell and Okes, Moseley and Herringham, Tonson and Lintot, Curll and Cave, Ben Tooke and Ben Motte, Dodsley and Andrew Millar, Bowyer and Richardson, Dilly and Joseph Johnson, Cadell and Newbery, John Murray and Thomas Longman; and all sent their books to be "entered at Stationers' Hall."—*Extracts from the Register of the Stationers' Company, by J. Payne Collier.*

POLITICAL PARTIES IN 1751.—The incipient opposition at Leicester House was overthrown by the death of the Prince of Wales; and its ostensible leader, Bubb Doddington, and others, tried to sell themselves at the highest price they could to the people in power. All the great political questions which had so long agitated the country seemed, indeed, now to have become extinguished, and to have given place to a far less honorable partizanship of private jealousies and private interests, in which it was the object of the minister to strengthen himself, by giving

place to as many individuals as he had any reason to fear in the opposition—and the simple and only object of opposition was to establish a claim for admission to place. This was so universally felt, that instead of the old distinctions of Whig and Tory, Hanoverian or Jacobite, or court party and country party, the supporters of ministers and the opposition had almost involuntarily taken the distinctive titles of the new interest and the old interest—the new interest being that of men in place,—the old interest, that of men who wanted to be in place.—*England under the House of Hanover.*

INWARD INFLUENCE OF OUTWARD BEAUTY.—Believe me, there is many a road into our hearts besides our ears and brains; many a sight, and sound, and scent, even of which we have never thought at all, sinks into our memory, and helps to shape our characters; and thus children brought up among beautiful sights and sweet sounds will most likely show the fruits of their nursing by thoughtfulness, and affection, and nobleness of mind, even by the expression of the countenance. Those who live in towns should carefully remember this, for their own sakes, for their wives' sakes, for their children's sakes. Never lose an opportunity of seeing anything beautiful. Beauty is God's handwriting—a wayside sacrament; welcome it in every fair face, every fair sky, every fair flower, and thank for it Him, the fountain of all loveliness, and drink it in simply and earnestly, with all your eyes: it is a charmed draught, a cup of blessing.—*Politics for the People.*

THE COLLEGE OF PHYSICIANS OF LONDON have issued a manifesto, in which they consider what measures it is expedient to adopt with a view of preventing the spread of the disease and of otherwise mitigating the evils of the cholera. This committee have drawn up some remarks and instructions for the information of the public. They say: That in a district where cholera prevails no appreciable increase of danger is incurred by ministering to persons affected with it, and no safety afforded to the community by the isolation of the sick. The disease has almost invariably been most destructive in the dampest and filthiest parts of the town it has visited. The committee therefore recommend all persons during its prevalence to live in the manner they have hitherto found most conducive to their health; avoiding intemperance of all kinds. A sufficiency of nourishing food, warm clothing, and speedy change of damp garments, regular and sufficient sleep, and avoidance of excessive fatigue, of long fasting, and of exposure to wet and cold, more particularly at night, are important means of promoting or maintaining good health, and thereby afford protection against the cholera. The committee do not recommend that the public should abstain from the moderate use of well-cooked green vegetables, and of ripe or preserved fruits. A certain proportion of these articles of diet, is, with most persons, necessary for the maintenance of health. The committee likewise think it not advisable to prohibit the use of pork, or bacon; or of salted, dried, or smoked meat or fish; which have not been proved to exert any direct influence in causing this disease. Nothing promotes the spread of epidemic diseases so much as a want of nourishment; and the poor will necessarily suffer this want, if they are led to abstain from those articles of food on which, from their comparative cheapness, they mainly depend for subsistence.

